The Nation

y 15, 1982 $1.25

MAR 19 1982
** 976.14
TENNESSEE ST UNIV
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
S 1 U18JUL83 1 P0
09 1 E8

EDITORIAL

DILEMMAS OF A SURREAL WAR

The Argentine cruiser General Belgrano is torpedoed, the British destroyer Sheffield is set afire by a missile, and with the next battle the body count could equal if not surpass the number of Kelpers on the Falklands. Not even in a so-called just war, if such there be, would such senseless violence be justified.

But this is less a just war than a surreal one. On one side is the vicious, dictatorial, Third World aggressor. On the other our most civilized ally, the battered ex-empire, which has gone beyond its self-declared 200-mile war zone to exhibit the old discredited habits of colonial machismo.

On the sidelines, an exhausted General Haig, having failed as Kissinger-the-second-time-around, says that our heart was always with the lion-hearted. Thus in their first test, the Reaganites—who are, after all, Monroe Doctrine Revivalists—come out in opposition to hemispheric solidarity.

Reagan and Thatcher, who jointly resent the United Nations, have underrated its potential role as mediator. And the young of Argentina and Britain continue to die at the domestic political convenience of their elders.

It has become the fashion, in certain liberal circles, to denigrate Jonathan Schell as the messenger who brought the old news. We have heard before that we live in a lawless jungle, that only some kind of new international legal framework can prevent war, or the arms race, or the fragile balance of power from igniting our nuclear arsenals.

But if even the most civilized nation can't contain the tribal instinct toward combat, can't resist the increasing momentum of the drums of war, in the absence of some sort of international order, some sort of peacemaking machinery, what hope is there for the rest of us?

THE FIRST CASUALTY
Michael Reisman

DEMOCRATS CHANGE THE RULES
George McGovern

PUBLIC TV: BEHIND THE CONTROVERSY
Kathleen Hulser

WHERE THE HEALTH DOLLAR GOES
John Ehrenreich

GLAD HEARTS AT THE SUPERMARKET
Louis Menand

ECONOMY GOT YOU DOWN?

FOUR WAYS TO CHANGE THE CORPORATIONS

The following is an excerpt from What's Wrong With the U.S. Economy? A Popular Guide for the Rest of Us, *to be published later this month by South End Press. It is written by the Institute for Labor Education and Research, a nonprofit educational collective in New York City which has been conducting courses about the economy for union and community audiences since the mid-1970s. The institute is directed by David M. Gordon and includes John Evansohn, Judy Hilkey, Les Leopold, Michael Merrill, Cydney Pullman, Howard Saunders and Sally Silvers. The book is intended to be an organizing tool to help create a popular response to Reaganomics.* —*The Editors*

We would argue that our current economic problems stem from four main consequences of corporate power in the postwar period: 1) Corporations developed and abused their supervisory control over production. 2) Corporations erected and nearly strangled us with a top-heavy bureaucracy. 3) Less and less subject to market or popular discipline, corporations wasted resources and products. 4) Corporations dominated both the domestic and world economies.

Many of us have the nasty habit of accepting these troublesome features of the U.S. economy. We can do better.

1. Too Much Corporate Control Over Production? Try Workplace Democracy. We can show that intensive corporate supervision of production began to backfire in the late 1960s and 1970s. Workers began to resist corporate control of the workplace; worker effort began to wane.

The basic sources of this problem should now be clear. If there is an essentially undemocratic

(*Continued on Page 590*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

LABOR'S GIVE-BACKS

Philadelphia

When American labor unions fought for and gained higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, Stanley Aronowitz berated them for dishing out "false promises" to their members. But now that these unions, led by the United Automobile Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, have negotiated contracts providing for a broad range of concessions and give-backs, Aronowitz congratulates them for their statesmanlike posture ["Union Contracts: A 'New Contract'?" *The Nation*, April 24]. Moreover, he knows for sure that American workers have chosen during hard times "to accept wage cuts to hold on to their jobs even if their living standards are reduced."

Evidently Aronowitz does not know that in the past such concessions were generally wrung from workers after bitter struggles, not supinely surrendered as they are today. And he does not appear to know that in the past few workers were able to hold on to their jobs despite these concessions, and that it took decades before they regained what they had surrendered, or rather what had been wrung from them, during hard times.

Philip S. Foner
Professor Emeritus of History
Lincoln University

ARONOWITZ REPLIES

Just as Prof. Philip Foner has misunderstood my book *False Promises*, he has misconstrued my article on the give-backs in the automobile and trucking industries. In *False Promises* I did not berate unions for winning substantial economic concessions from employers; I criticized the absence in the labor movement of a social and political vision that went beyond contract unionism. In my article on the current give-backs, there is not a single reference to the "statesmanlike" posture of the unions. As in my earlier analysis, I am critical of their failure to demand that companies pay a price for wage concessions—more worker control over investment decisions, the only real assurance of job security.

On a point of fact, Foner is wrong: in some instances, workers have agreed to wage and other concessions without a fight. However, in the case of General Motors, the vote to approve a new contract was so close that the union was sent back to the bargaining table twice because the rank and file remained unconvinced of the necessity of give-backs. At the Westinghouse Air Brake plant in Pittsburgh, the members of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers chose to fight rather than concede.

My contention is that concessions are not themselves evidence of betrayal. What is egregious about the current negotiations is the union leaders' failure to win more power over the workplace. Foner's view of wage concessions has the ring of the soldier who prefers suicide to a tactical retreat in order to fight another day. I would argue that rather than taking a position of high moralism, it might be better to figure out how to save the army.

Stanley Aronowitz

PRIVATIZING INFORMATION

New York City

The article by Anita R. Schiller and Herbert I. Schiller ["Who Can Own What America Knows?" *The Nation*, April 17] persuasively describes the danger to the public interest posed by the information industry's attacks on various government activities.

The authors note the campaign to compel the National Library of Medicine to impose drastically higher fees for its computerized information services. They fail to mention, however, that this campaign is being led by Elsevier Science Publishers, a firm based in the Netherlands, which sees itself as a competitor of the library. Elsevier has hired a Washington, D.C., law firm to act as its agent in the matter, and its attorneys, in concert with the Information Industries Association, have been energetically lobbying Congress and the Administration to clip the library's wings.

Although little known to the general public, the National Library of Medicine has been recognized throughout the medical community for more than a century as a source of authoritative bibliographic information of high quality. The library now recovers its costs of providing this information. If the information industry succeeds in its attempts to curtail these services or raise the fees to unreasonable levels, the U.S. public will be the ultimate loser. This means that sick people will suffer. The basic issue of private gain versus public good has never been more clearly limned.

Saul Jarcho, M.D.

NATIVE ORAL TRADITIONS

Hanover, N.H.

I was delighted to see Harold Jaffe's review of Simon Ortiz's *Fight Back* and *From Sand Creek* in the pages of *The Nation* ["Speaking Memory," April 3]. Certainly, any review at all of a Native American writer's work is unusual in most literary magazines, and a reasonably sensitive review like Jaffe's—relatively bare of fatuous silliness about Indians and Indian writing—is all the more welcome.

I would, however, like to correct what I suspect was an inadvertent mistake. In reference to Native oral tradition, Jaffe says that, with a very few exceptions, this "'literature' has been largely unrecorded until recently." On the contrary, it has been recorded massively, some would say to death. Native oral traditions ("literature," if we must use the term) have been preserved in many instances, often by Native scholars like James Teit (Tsimshian) and Ella C. Deloria (Lakota Sioux).

Of course, some tribal traditions were not recorded and now are lost forever, insofar as the tribal people who remembered them are dead. Many traditions have been ill-served by collectors whose linguistic, cultural and ethical inadequacies led them to misrepresent those traditions. Others have been ill-treated by well-meaning poets and literary scholars who believed more in their powers of translation than in those of the people to whom the traditions belonged. But for over a century these traditions have been studied and recorded by scholars and cultural preservationists, Native and non-Native.

The signal difference between past efforts and present efforts is that such recording is now usually undertaken at the behest of tribal people, is often done by tribal people and, when undertaken by non-Indians, is understood as a collaboration between equals. The best scholars understand and honor these stipulations. It is in this respect that Native scholars, folklorists and cultural leaders continue to honor those writers like Simon Ortiz who retranslate traditions into different forms so that they may continue to speak to and for Native people.

Rayna Green, Director
Native American Resource Center
Dartmouth College

Valencia, Pa.

You have a great paper. Just wonder how long Reagan will let you print it. I am a Sioux Cherokee Indian chief, almost 80 years old, and I know physically what is going on, and have for some time.

On "Speaking Memory" by Harold Jaffe: I liked the article very much, for I know what is said in the article is true. In Lincoln's time, when the gold was brought East by stagecoach, it had to go through Shoshone territory. In order for the gold to get through, the Indian chiefs were called to a meeting for a treaty signing. Told not to bring any weapons, they arrived, unsuspecting, only to find soldiers armed with rifles. While the meeting was going on, a teen-age Indian lad was brought in and accused of robbing a stagecoach. The soldiers later killed the boy, cooked him and forced the chiefs, under threat of death, to eat his flesh. This is fact, though it is not told in history books in school. . . .

White Wolf Parshall
GE Gan' O'tioni

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 234, Number 19

LETTERS
576

EDITORIALS
575 Dilemmas of a Surreal War
577 Budget Politics
578 Belated Apologies
578 The First Casualty *Michael Reisman*

ARTICLES
575 Economy Got You Down?: Four Ways to Change The Corporations *Institute for Labor Education and Research*
580 "Reasonable, Pragmatic": The Democrats Change the Rules *George McGovern*
582 Matters of Life and Breadth: Is Public TV Doing Its Job? *Kathleen Hulser*
586 "Entitlements"—For Whom?: Where the Health Dollar Really Goes *John Ehrenreich*
589 After Silkwood, Galatia: Kerr-McGee Tries Union Territory *Roberta Lynch*

FOLLOW-UP
592 Footnotes to "Missing": WNET, *The Times* and Some History *Jose Yglesias*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
594 Glad Hearts at the Supermarket *Louis Menand*
597 Rulfo: Pedro Páramo *Earl Shorris*
599 Book Notes
600 Films *Robert Hatch*
600 The Cart (poem) *W. S. Merwin*
602 Theater *Richard Gilman*

Drawings by Isadore Seltzer

Editor, Victor Navasky

Associate Editor, Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon; *Interns,* Susan Bandler, Lee Bearson, Kate Browne, Cathy Pawlowski, Peter Watrous. *On leave,* Richard Lingeman, Robert Sherrill.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors,* Blair Clark, Christopher Hitchens, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish III

Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen King; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Classified,* Deborah Kriger; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Laurie Lipper; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $30; two years, $55; six months, $15. Add $7 per year postage outside United States. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 30 days of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Budget Politics

Kafka, thou shouldst be living at this hour. Even you would be beguiled by the antics of America's political parties as they dance around the budget. For the Republicans, President Reagan has made double talk into a new art form. Two recent examples:

• After preaching the need for a balanced budget, he proposes a tax-rebate program for private school tuition, a $2 billion giveaway. Ironically, that matches almost exactly the amount cut from the budget for public education.

• While endorsing a constitutional amendment to mandate a balanced budget, he refuses even in his G.O.P. compromise package to reduce the deficit below his alarming twelve-digit figure.

This may seem mystifying—until we recognize that in both cases a desperate President is seeking to rally the military-industrial complex and a folkish New Right constituency in combined support of a politically beseiged Administration.

The Democrats, we are constrained to say, are not much better. Led by Speaker Tip O'Neill—if indeed "led" is the right word—they have been resonant in denouncing Reagan's cuts in social spending, but remarkably enough their alternative has been to propose social cuts of their own. In no forum, least of all Congress, has the party come forth to puncture the bloated budget in its most protuberant parts. Not a word is heard about repealing the $749 billion tax cut enacted last year. Not a word is heard about doing away with the numerous corporate tax breaks enacted or enhanced last year. And when it comes to defense spending, the Democrats seem more inclined to stand at attention and

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
MAY 11 1982
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

salute than to sit down and propose serious and substantial cuts.

It ill behooves us to appear cynical in these times, we know, but it does appear that the Democrats, rather than coming up with a positive, sensible alternative to the Reagan budget, are content to let the Republicans stew in their own $182-billion-deficit juices and pay the price at the polls this November. The economy may suffer, unemployment may increase, the market may be thrown in a turmoil and the inequities of last year's budget may go unchecked, but—so the Democrats seem to be thinking—that will only hurt the country, not the Democratic Party, in November.

It's a nice theory, almost as comforting as the Reaganite idea that transfering benefits from the poor to the rich would somehow restore Wall Street's confidence in the economy. But voter confidence can be as illusory as investor confidence. How long will it be before members of both parties wake up to the fact that double-speak and no-act are stratagems of vacuity and sterility?

Belated Apologies

Back in October 1952, it took the New York City Board of Higher Education less than two weeks to dismiss economic historian Vera Shlakman from her tenured position at Queens College. Shlakman was only one of the thirteen teachers in the New York City municipal college system fired for invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee in 1952 and 1953. Now, almost thirty years later, New York City has officially reinstated Shlakman and her colleagues and has begun to pay those of them who are still alive their long-overdue pensions.

These teachers' rehabilitation was as dilatory as their dismissal had been fast. They sought restitution from the start, and in 1968, after the Supreme Court voided the section of the New York City Charter under which they had been dismissed, they sued for reinstatement. In 1972, the Board of Education settled with the forty-three public school teachers who were also fired in the 1950s, but the Board of Higher Education dragged its bureaucratic feet. Finally, in March 1980, it officially condemned the evils of the past and promised to rehabilitate Shlakman and the others. Even so, it took two more years for the checks to arrive.

Presumably other colleges may soon make similar apologies to the dozens of teachers fired during the McCarthy era. The temper of the times seems ripe for such gestures. But that is all they are—gestures. Though it might seem that no college or university would today fire a tenured professor for invoking the Fifth Amendment, the thirty to forty years that it has taken even a few schools to rectify their past misdeeds leaves little room for optimism. And, given that it was the academy's cave-in back in the 1940s and 1950s that produced the outrages we now denounce, it would be a mistake to assume that its belated redressing of an old injustice will immunize it against committing future ones.

The First Casualty

In war, the first casualty is the truth. The most appalling misunderstanding in the Falkland affair is that this is a funny little war, an *opera buffa*, as one respected journal called it. Wars kill and maim people: anyone who finds that comic has a perverse sense of humor and a defective sense of morality. A little war? On an interdependent planet, no one can say where an explosive conflict will end once the dogs of war are loose.

Another casualty of war is uncertainty: now, at last, in a world that has become too complicated, we have a war in which we know who the good people are. Argentina is the aggressor and Britain the innocent victim. The goodies, who are democratic and our friends, deliver stirring Churchillian speeches. Central casting couldn't have done better with the baddies: they are real Hollywood heavies, speak with pronounced accents, are dictators and do bad things like sell grain to the Russians. (We conveniently forget that our government has of late been enamored of these heavies and that, *mirabile dictu*, President Reagan also sells grain to the Russians.) The baddies didn't join the Allies against Hitler until the eleventh hour. (We conveniently forget that it was more than forty years and many governments ago, and that it is a sin for which other governments, such as Spain's, were rather quickly forgiven.) The baddies have used violence because they're unpopular at home and need to whip up patriotism to stay in power. (We conveniently forget that Prime Minister Thatcher's choice of strategic responses was unquestionably shaped by the same concern.) The goodies are a democracy, the baddies are a junta that violates human rights. (We conveniently forget that Argentina's claim to the Falklands is national and has been pressed by every elected democratic Argentine government. We also forget that, in arguments over property, title goes not to the nicest guys but to the ones with the best claim.)

History

In fact, the issues are quite complicated. The Falklands were seized by the British in the nineteenth century. Argentina never stopped protesting the seizure and demanding their return. In 1946, Britain itself registered the islands with the United Nations as a non-self-governing territory, which it merely administered. In 1960, the U.N. General Assembly confirmed the principle of decolonization, accelerating the process of returning to Third World countries territories seized during Europe's period of imperial expansion. Argentina and Britain have been negotiating the return of the Falklands for years, and a number of governmental functions were transferred to Argentina as Britain prepared to return sovereignty completely in exchange for a limited lease-back. Argentina seemed agreeable. The sticking point in the negotiations has been the approximately 1,800 British nationals on the island. Once a British government invoked the principle of self-determination, it appeared to have given the 1,800 residents veto power on the return of the islands. Predictably, they vetoed the proposed settlement. Would the world have tolerated a veto by the people of Yamit?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Self-Determination

Since the eruption of the Falkland dispute, American and British officials have insisted that the doctrine of self-determination is the criterion for settlement. (We conveniently forget how consistently these countries have ignored the claims of self-determination of 3 million Palestinians and 17 million Taiwanese. How alarmed they have suddenly become about the rights of self-determination of 1,800 people of English stock!) But no one has ever suggested that 1,800 people form a nation, and it has long been clear that Britain had neither the interest nor the resources to incorporate and maintain the Falklands as part of its metropolitan territory. Actually, self-determination is one of a number of principles that must be applied to the resolution of disputes. In application, it means that solutions must take into account the aspirations of the inhabitants and create a government that attempts to protect their basic human rights.

There are many ways in which this can be accomplished: independence, autonomy, association, integration with another state with minority guarantees, and so on. The Falkland controversy could have been resolved long ago, by returning sovereignty over the islands to Argentina while creating a special national status for the inhabitants or by creating an autonomous Falkland region of Argentina, English-speaking and internally self-governing. Using such a device, the League of Nations averted war between Sweden and Finland over the Aland Islands, with their Swedish population, by making them a Swedish-speaking autonomous region of Finland.

The Charge of Aggression

President Reagan belatedly characterized Argentina as an aggressor. Other officials and the media have said that Argentina has violated Article II of the United Nations Charter. Interestingly, the Security Council did not characterize the situation as an aggression but as a breach of the peace, calling for withdrawal and negotiation but not condemnation.

Article II prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state. It must be interpreted realistically, and with reference to practice, to determine whether there has in fact been an attack on a state's territorial integrity or political independence. This provision presupposed that the Security Council would be an effective international policeman and would protect national rights so that self-help measures would no longer be necessary. As everyone knows, the Security Council has failed to perform that function, and many nations, including the United States, have resorted to self-help when they felt that nothing else would avail. The ink had barely dried on the charter when Britain claimed this right in a conflict with Albania.

The point of all this is that determining the legality of the unilateral use of force is more complicated than simply examining a single line of a treaty. You have to look at the context, the alternatives, the feasibility of U.N. action, the consequences of inaction, and so on. Some self-help measures may be lawful.

Sadat's Dilemma

In 1973, Anwar el-Sadat looked across the Suez Canal and saw a steady, perhaps inexorable, process of Israeli digestion of the Sinai, seized six years earlier. The Knesset had just voted to permit Israelis to acquire land in the occupied territories, oil was being explored for and pumped, military bases built, towns and settlements erected. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union was doing anything to stop it. Sadat knew he couldn't regain territory by force of arms, but he started a war he knew he would lose militarily in the hope of initiating a political process that might culminate in the return of his land.

Sadat's dilemma is commonplace in international politics, and it may help to explain Argentina's thinking. The Argentines, convinced of their right to the islands, were getting nowhere in negotiations with Britain. Time was running against them, for with new doctrines of national claim to the oceans, Britain might decide that the Falklands were too valuable to return. Sooner or later, some Argentine government had to conclude that self-help was necessary to cut the Gordian knot—at best to regain the islands, at worst to stimulate real negotiations.

U.S. Reactions

The vehemence of the most recent U.S. response cannot be explained by reference to the Falklands alone. Part of it is a ventilation of frustration. Haig's self-righteous assertion that aggressors will not be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their iniquity is belied by the fact that the Reagan Administration has watched glumly those fruits being gobbled up in Poland, Afghanistan and the Golan Heights. The Falklands crisis seems like a nice cheap opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the principle even if it doesn't quite fit the case. Part of our response comes in the form of support for the Thatcher government, ideologically akin to the Reagan Administration, which because of the Falkland imbroglio is in danger of being replaced by a Labor government. A Labor government would not be as compliant internationally and certainly not as helpful in NATO.

Conflict Managers

The most depressing thing about the Falklands war is not its inevitability but its preventability. It was not prevented because too many in Washington and London thought that—in what Henry Kissinger grandly calls "the larger picture"—it or Argentina was trivial. In a deeper sense, it was not prevented because the American foreign policy establishment no longer thinks in terms of conflict resolution. The new game in town is "conflict management." Problems are no longer solved or even deemed solvable. They are "managed," exploited, kept under control for four years, and then passed on to successors who try to do the same. The Falklands issue, which could have been dealt with years ago in a number of ways fair to the inhabitants, fair to Argentina and consistent with international law and morality, was permitted to fester until it burst. MICHAEL REISMAN

Michael Reisman teaches international law at Yale Law School, and is the author, with Myres McDougal, of International Law in Contemporary Perspective *(Foundation).*

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

'REASONABLE, PRAGMATIC'

The Democrats Change the Rules

GEORGE McGOVERN

Since I have been asked to evaluate the recent reforms of the procedures by which the Democratic Party nominates Presidential candidates, I should perhaps try to establish some claim to fairness and objectivity. I will begin by asserting that the procedural reforms with which I am associated had little if anything to do with my nomination as the Democratic standard-bearer in 1972. Many people have assumed the contrary: that I presided over changes in the ground rules that enabled me to win a nomination that otherwise would have gone to another contender. This notion is so widely accepted that a respected newspaper editor, who is sympathetic to my views, calmly introduced me some months ago at a national convention of his fellow editors as "the man who changed the nominating rules and then went on to use those changes to become the Democratic nominee in 1972."

My nomination in 1972 was the result of grass-roots organizing and the efforts of a huge army of volunteers who worked for me because of my positions on issues they cared about. We won not because we had reformed the rules but because we ran effective campaigns in states operating according to the old methods. We got more votes in primaries, caucuses and conventions than anyone else—including victories in primary elections stretching from Wisconsin to California to New York.

Similarly, in 1960 John Kennedy won the Presidential nomination despite the opposition of such party leaders as Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, Adlai Stevenson, the titular head of the party, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Kennedy won the nomination primarily because of the momentum and national attention he had gained by defeating his rivals in five primaries.

The reform commission over which I presided in 1969 and 1970 did not favor primary elections over caucuses and conventions. Nor did any state adopt the primary system for 1972 that had not used it before. It is true that the Democratic Party made additional changes in the nominating rules after 1972. It is also true that a number of states adopted the primary election system after 1972. Jimmy Carter studied the reforms and the proliferation of primaries and planned his campaign accordingly. Doubtless that planning helped him win the nomination in 1976. But it may be that running as an antigovernment conservative in a field of liberals and avoiding controversial positions had as much or more to do with Carter's nomination as the rules changes and the large number of states holding primaries.

In any event, there is no evidence that the rules changes delivered the nomination to me in 1972, and only speculative evidence that the rules helped Carter in 1976 or 1980. Nor can a defensible case be made that going back to the way things were done in the old days will result in superior nominees. While the old days gave us F.D.R. and Lincoln, they also gave us Lewis Cass, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Ulysses Grant, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge and Richard Nixon. Ronald Reagan is also a product of the Republican Party's unreformed selection process. No McGovern, or Fraser, or Hunt reforms have yet reached the Republican Presidential nominating procedures.

The reforms proposed by the commission that I chaired in 1969 and 1970 and that was chaired by Donald Fraser, then a Representative from Minnesota and now Mayor of Minneapolis, in 1971 and 1972 were virtually inevitable. The work of a twenty-eight-member commission representing every element of the Democratic Party, the McGovern-Fraser reforms stemmed directly from the reform commission mandated by the 1968 national convention. They were not radical pie-in-the-sky reforms. They were moderate, pragmatic compromises designed to revive a party that had been fractured by the 1968 convention and by the impact of the Vietnam War.

The commission recommended, and the Democratic National Committee, then headed by Larry O'Brien, overwhelmingly accepted, a series of reforms to "encourage representation on the national convention delegation of minority groups, young people and women in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the State." The commission stipulated that the entire delegate selection process be conducted in a "timely" manner (within a calendar year of the national convention), and called for a ban on the unit rule and on proxy voting. We required the printing of explicit state party rules on delegate selection, public notification of delegate selection meetings and a strict limit on delegate fees. State party officers were given the right to select 10 percent of the delegates from their states. Recognizing the value of a mixed system of selecting delegates, states were allowed to decide whether to select delegates by caucuses, conventions or primaries.

After 1972, reform commissions made other changes in the delegate selection procedures, including a full system of proportional representation and a ban on winner-take-all primaries. The latest reforms, the product of a commission headed by Governor James Hunt Jr. of North Carolina, grew out of several factors, including the perception that earlier reforms in the rules had opened the way for a relatively obscure candidate to win the nomination without

George McGovern, former Democratic Senator from South Dakota and the 1972 Democratic Presidential nominee, is chairman of Americans for Common Sense, a nonprofit public-interest organization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the approval of experienced party professionals. This perception is based on the notion that the rules under which I won the Democratic nomination in 1972, defeating such early front-runners as Senators Muskie and Humphrey, set the stage for my heavy loss to President Nixon in the general election. It is argued even more frequently by critics of the reform rules that they opened the way for Carter to win the nomination in 1976 and 1980; these are the same people who insist that Carter was incapable of governing because he didn't have the support of the party regulars who were presumably bypassed in his bid for the nomination.

To paraphrase H. L. Mencken, "There is some truth in these charges, but not much."

The fact that I was defeated in a landslide in 1972 was not the result of the rules under which I was nominated. It was the result of such factors as the shooting of George Wallace, which foreclosed an independent candidacy and thus insured the triumph of Nixon's "Southern Strategy," the controversy about Thomas Eagleton's mental illness, and the bizarre convention session featuring horseplay for precious hours of network prime time, which delayed my acceptance address until 3 A.M., when much of the nation was asleep.

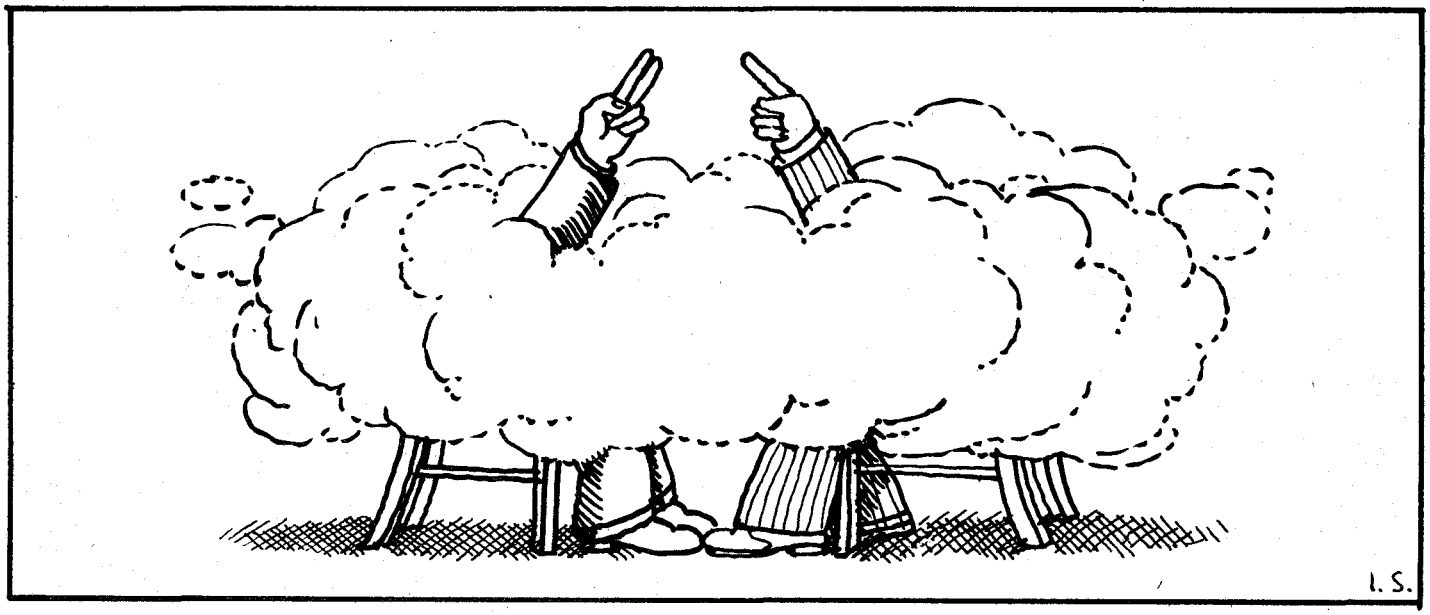
A stronger case can be made that the rules changes helped Carter win the nomination, but I suspect that he and his associates could list other factors that were at least as important in his victories and in explaining his difficulties in the Presidency. After all, Lyndon Johnson, despite his historic landslide win in 1964, was unable by 1968 to govern the country and felt constrained not to seek re-election. And Richard Nixon was driven from office eighteen months after his landslide victory in 1972.

The Hunt commission has prudently sought to preserve the most constructive portions of earlier rules reforms while granting more recognition to elected Democratic officeholders and party officials. This is a reasonable, pragmatic adjustment. Under the new Hunt rules, 22 percent of the delegates to the 1984 convention will be elected officeholders and party officials. Two thirds of them—approximately 550—will be "super delegates" uncommitted to any candidate. As many as 173 of these super delegates will be members of Congress selected by the House and Senate Democratic caucuses. One hundred and twelve state chairpersons and vice chairpersons will also be included in the super delegate category. The remaining super delegates will be chosen by state parties, with preference given to governors, mayors, state legislators and other state officials. The state parties will also name approximately another 8 percent of the delegates, but these will be pledged to candidates according to the results of state conventions, caucuses or primaries. In short, of the 3,850 delegates expected to participate in the 1984 Democratic national convention, 14 percent will be uncommitted officeholders and party officials and 8 percent will be committed delegates chosen by state parties. The bulk of the delegates will still be selected by primaries, caucuses or conventions within the states.

The objection to this new arrangement comes from those who believe that all or virtually all of the delegates should be chosen by voters or participants in state primary, caucus or convention systems. These critics argue that the new rule is a step back toward "boss rule" and "the smoke-filled room."

I do not agree. More than three fourths of the delegates will still be selected by procedures open to rank-and-file Democrats. And it can be reasonably argued that those who live with political concerns every day, such as members of Congress and governors, have the experience and insight to provide a limited check on the choice of a nominee ill-suited for a national campaign or for the Presidency.

The Hunt commission also eased the rule adopted in 1980 that provided for proportional representation. Instead, the so-called "loophole primary" has been given a green light. Rather than guarantee each candidate a percentage of the delegates in a state or Congressional district based on the voting percentages they each have won, a state will now be able to award all the delegates in a Congressional district to the candidate securing the most votes in the primary election, caucuses or conventions. Alternatively, a state is allowed



DRAWINGS BY ISADORE SELTZER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to stay with proportional representation, but may choose to give the top vote-getter in each district an extra delegate.

This second change may be more significant than the addition of the uncommitted super delegates, since the new "winner take all" or "winner take more" options may give a candidate who does well in early state contests a chance to pile up enough of a lead to sew up the nomination before states with later contests are heard from. Conversely, a candidate who comes on strong in the later state contests might have a chance under the new rules to accumulate enough votes to overtake a front-runner. As a practical matter, however, anything that enables a candidate who does well in the early tests to pile up a big lead is more likely to foreclose the nomination early than it is to leave the door open for a successful bid by a candidate who emerges late in the selection process.

On balance, nonetheless, I do not share the view of some critics that this second change in the rules represents a serious setback to democratic practice. It is worth a try—one that I think is free of any great hazard.

Another change recommended by the Hunt commission would shorten the nominating period by five weeks, largely by moving back the dates of the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. This reform, of course, is designed to reduce the impact of these two early tests.

The final change recommended by the Hunt commission is the entirely predictable call upon the Democratic Party to abandon the 1980 rule that requires delegates to vote on the first ballot for the candidate to whom they were pledged in the selection process. The one-time binding rule was regarded by many delegates as a weakening of their freedom and their ability to respond to changing circumstances during the nominating process.

As for the most controversial of the earlier reforms—an equal division between men and women in state delegations and affirmative action to insure fair representation of minorities—the Hunt commission endorsed both.

All in all, the Hunt commission has responded reasonably to the perceptions and concerns of Democrats across the country. I give this commission an A- or a B+, which is about the grade I would give to earlier reform commissions, including the one I chaired.

Columnist David Broder has concluded that "the history of Democratic rules is—unintended consequences."

I think that observation applies equally to other reforms, including Congressional procedures and campaign financing. It is a good cautionary note on which to conclude a tentative analysis of the current state of reform in the Democratic Party. □

TRILLIN TK

Calvin Trillin is on an extended tour of the restaurants and entrepôts of the People's Republic of China. His column, "Uncivil Liberties," originally scheduled for last week's issue, will appear as regularly scheduled in the issue of May 29.

MATTERS OF LIFE AND BREADTH

Is Public TV Doing Its Job?

KATHLEEN HULSER

The recent spate of controversies over public television documentaries—*Middletown*, *Matters of Life and Death*, *Blood and Sand*—*War in the Sahara* and *From the Ashes . . . Nicaragua Today*—focuses unusual but timely attention on the nature, the independence and the function of public broadcasting in this country. In particular it raises fundamental questions about the political role of a public system and the extent to which that system should govern itself through prior censorship.

Nonprofit television was established as an alternative to commercial broadcasting, an outlet for educational and experimental work that couldn't win a place in the ratings game. The hope was that the public system would be especially able to use the talents of America's large pool of independent producers, the very people with the skills and points of view necessary to explore controversial themes ignored by the commercial networks. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting, established in 1968, *funnels* money to individual stations and independent producers for operations and productions. The Public Broadcasting Service was set up in 1969 to serve its 297 member stations and to *distribute* programming to them, including works by independent producers.

There is real question as to whether this system is now working properly at all. For one thing, there is the built-in friction between CPB and PBS because of their different—and not always parallel—responsibilities. Then, too, there are signs of growing strains in the relationships between PBS and both its member stations and the independent producers. And while these tensions exist, PBS tends to rely heavily on predictable British imports and safe, corporate-funded cultural and scientific programs.

Worst of all, PBS has lately indulged in a kind of self-censorship that is threatening its independent role. Granted, it is undoubtedly no joy to run the system under the eyes of an Administration that considers public TV a bratty birdlet that should be kicked out of the Federal nest and forced to earn its own quasi-commercial keep. But PBS has been engaging in so much anticipatory knuckling-under in order to avoid making enemies that it is beginning to lose its staunchest allies, the independent producers and the public. Instead of championing controversial new programs, PBS often seems to be laboring to keep them out of sight and using its control of prime-time slots to force editorial changes in programs already made.

Kathleen Hulser is the editor of The Independent, *which is published by the Foundation for Independent Video and Film.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

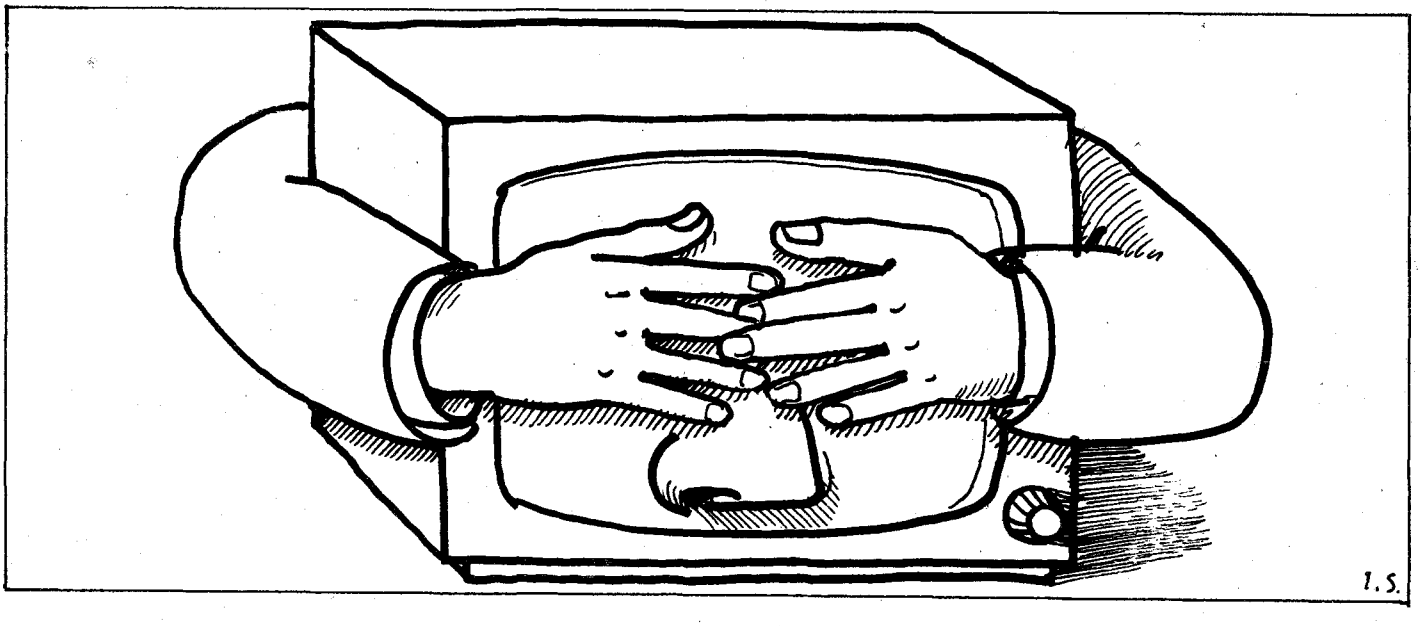
Take, for example, the new CPB-funded series *Matters of Life and Death*. It is a major project, with twenty-two half-hour segments in the first season, produced at a cost of $1.5 million, and it was two years in the making because proposals were solicited from a variety of independent producers across the nation. When Lewis Freedman, head of the CPB program fund, delivered the finished series to PBS, he expected it to be given a prominent slot in the national schedule, as befits such an undertaking. But PBS balked. Exercising their power over the schedule, network executives told Freedman they would run some of the show during prime time, but not all of it. Freedman insisted: all or none. PBS was adamant. *Life and Death* is now distributed by the Interregional Program Service, not PBS, and the series is not shown during prime time (meaning public TV prime time, which is the live, nationally coordinated slot from 8 P.M. to 10 P.M., Sunday through Wednesday). Freedman announced his resignation just as the series premiered, presumably in part because of PBS intransigence. After all, why should the production arm of public broadcasting create a series that draws on fresh producing talent if the distribution arm relegates it to late-hour ghettos? Freedman, who insists he's leaving the program fund for "personal reasons," says, "I wanted to maintain the integrity of the series, assuring that the shows got the attention they deserve by programming the whole series at a regular time, not sprinkled all over the schedule."

The *Life and Death* scheduling tiff reveals a brand of circular thinking that has become increasingly common at PBS. Conventional network wisdom holds that the prime-time schedule should be reserved for important, as they say, "impactful" programs, but in fact PBS can make programs "impactful" by running them in prime time. It can also make them influential by promoting them heavily, but only programs with corporate underwriting have large enough budgets to do this; documentaries, which rarely receive corporate funding, are therefore not promoted—and so, by definition, not "impactful." Beneath this circularity lies a sad fact about public TV: though it was designed as an antidote to the commercial system, where numbers determine all, it is administered by people who have come to share the mass-audience imperatives of the commercial networks. Even sadder is the thought that, assuming increased corporate underwriting in these days of shrinking public funding, the PBS-style "impactful" show is likely to play an even greater role in programming and scheduling decisions.

The rejection of one segment of *Matters of Life and Death* raises the tangled issue of political *and* esthetic cautiousness. The episode in question, "Some of These Stories Are True," was produced by Peter Adair (who also made the film *The Word is Out*) and financed by the CPB program fund. After the program was viewed by the CPB staff in June 1981, Adair was asked to make some changes, and he did so. He learned that the episode had been excluded from the series only when he received a CPB form letter two months ago. The letter gave no reason for the rejection.

"Some of These Stories Are True" explores the relationship between male violence and power through interviews of three men who have stories to tell; two of these stories are true. One of the true stories, told by Lucian Truscott IV (author of the novel *Dress Grey*), relates an unflattering anecdote about Truscott's West Point commanding officer, Col. Alexander Haig; there is speculation that there are people in Washington who would have been unhappy if the show were aired. According to Adair, CPB lawyers described the Haig anecdote as "non-libelous." Officials at CPB's program fund disclaim any political motive in rejecting the episode. They maintain that the decision to eliminate "Some of These Stories Are True" was a matter of the show's poor quality: the fictitious segment is, they say, "badly acted." As an afterthought they add that the program does not fit the "urgency" theme of the series and that it doesn't conform to the original proposal. None of CPB's rationales are convincing.

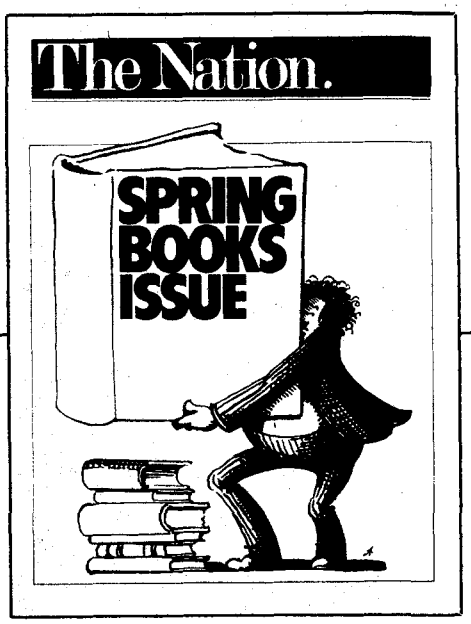
Adair's "Some of These Stories Are True" joins truth and falsehood in a fashion that calls conventional notions of both into question. Audiences unable to figure out which episode isn't true until the script credits roll may be con-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fused, as CPB seems to fear. On the other hand, Adair's use of TV documentary to suggest the fragility of documentary "truth" is an inventive and valuable use of public TV's prime time. It might even be described as an "urgent" inquiry into the nature of TV reality.

Next stop *Middletown*. Keen on the idea of a study of Middle America, the Xerox Corporation partially underwrote Peter Davis's six-part *cinéma vérité* series on Muncie, Indiana. When it realized back in December that *Middletown* contained quite a dose of salty language, Xerox decided not to advertise the series, though it continued supporting such publicity as press previews and interviews. PBS nonetheless scheduled *Middletown* for prime time on the basis of the first segment and Davis's reputation as the producer of *Hearts and Minds* and *The Selling of the Pentagon*. When PBS executives saw a "fine cut" of the final episode, "Seventeen," sixty days before the air date, they asked Davis to cut four minutes' worth to mitigate the effect of the "vulgar language." Davis protested that "teen-agers talk like that everywhere," and with *cinéma vérité*'s emphasis on candid encounters, it would be a travesty to delete such characteristic language. Nevertheless, in return for the guaranteed prime-time slot, he agreed to some of the cuts.



BOOKS AND AUDIENCES

The Nation's annual Spring Books Issue will appear next week, with essays by *Elisabeth Sifton* on the audience for new fiction; *Stanley Crouch* on Ishmael Reed's search for new readers; *Kurt Vonnegut* on the underground/overground successes of Ernest Callenbach's *Ectopia* books; *Margo Jefferson* on teen-age readers and young adult romances; *Alice K. Turner* on paperbacks and the college student. And more . . .

The problem here stems from a PBS policy of sending "controversial" shows to member stations long before the air date. Although PBS cannot define "controversial" more precisely than something with "strong language, nudity and things that offend community standards," it apparently can recognize controversy well enough: it sends telegrams to member stations before transmitting certain shows, it sends memorandums indicating the exact times the potentially bothersome material will appear, and it sometimes even sends packages of written statements that station managers can use to deal with public protests.

So it was that the PBS outlet in Muncie, thus alerted to a possible uproar, decided to show the "Seventeen" episode to some members of the community, including a few who had been in it. The reaction to it was especially heated. The station protested to PBS, which then asked Davis to make more changes, claiming to have "learned about new problems." He withdrew "Seventeen."

M. Peter Downey, senior vice president for PBS programming support groups, has subsequently said that "PBS strongly discourages the advance showing of programs to anyone other than employees of the stations and accredited journalists." But he argues that "the problem is that PBS doesn't have much control over its member stations." It is true that individual stations do vary widely in their standards of acceptability. But when PBS's flagging of programs as "controversial" encourages stations to show them in advance or to back off from airing them, what happens to the public supposedly served by this alternative TV system?

Particularly striking in the Davis affair is the supercautious policy of PBS. Does the system's duty to its stations mean that it should be a whistle-blower, scaring stations by supplying "controversial" shows specially early? Legally, the member stations themselves are liable for slander and breaches of the equal time rule and the fairness doctrine, so why should PBS feel the need to take prebroadcast responsibility? Since PBS stresses that member stations are at liberty to refuse a program, it need not act as prior censor or prior alarmist.

A third recent PBS dispute involves *Blood and Sand*, a timely program on the Western Sahara that is part of the Non-Fiction Television series. It is a firsthand report on the war between the Polisario front, representing the indigenous nomadic Saharawis, and the troops of King Hassan II of Morocco, who claims the phosphate-rich desert as part of his kingdom. It was produced by Sharon Sopher, the first American journalist to visit the Polisario camps, and it represented something of a coup for PBS, since nothing like it had been shown on any of the commercial networks.

In late January, when PBS executives saw a "fine cut" of the program, at that time 98 percent completed, they waxed enthusiastic. "We are very favorably impressed at this point with the extremely thorough and original work you have done in documenting the struggle in the Western Sahara," Barry Chase, director of news and public affairs programming, wrote to Sopher on February 2. "We have scheduled that documentary for the most prominent available position

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the PBS schedule for news and public affairs programs." That slot was 8 P.M., Wednesday, April 14.

But on March 24, PBS informed Sopher that the program was no longer acceptable without many changes and would have to be rescheduled for April 28 at 10 P.M., though individual stations could show it sooner (New York City's Channel 13 and a few other outlets did). The switch meant there was no longer a coordinated national air date, which even Chase admits is a key factor in generating a broad audience; it also alerted member stations to the edginess of PBS executives and made them less inclined to pick up the program. And the switch sent another signal of warning to independent producers already troubled by the apprehensiveness and lack of support of network bureaucrats.

Discussing the brouhaha recently, Sopher said: "I can't understand why PBS made this change. For two months, during which I was in continuous contact with Eric Sass [vice president of PBS programming] and Barry Chase, both expressed enthusiasm for *Blood and Sand*. At this point, my ardor for producing controversial programming for PBS has cooled." (In fact, on March 18, six days before the schedule switch, Sopher received a contract to produce another PBS show, this time on Fidel Castro. She turned the offer down.)

David Loxton, the head of Channel 13's Television Laboratory, which administers the fund that paid for *Blood and Sand*, is also upset. "We are disappointed that PBS changed its opinion so late. We satisfied its screening and delivery times. We have had a complicated relationship with PBS over scheduling. Usually the programmers won't schedule a program until they see it, so we try to make PBS aware of a program well before its final version, so they can give it the best, most timely schedule. But that means a problematic opening up of the editing room to the scheduler. In this case, we never had any statement [from PBS executives] saying they must see it with changes."

When asked why PBS changed its mind so close to air time, Chase explained: "It's unusual but necessary. Certain changes weren't made. We always look at a program right before airing. Finally, it was not as good as we expected back when we made the decision that it had potential for a broad audience." But if the show, in its unaltered form, can be shown at 10 P.M., why is it inappropriate for 8 P.M.? "There is a close-up of a decomposing corpse, and the identity of some arms—mines and tanks—is not clear," Chase said. But if the program has errors, why was it shown at any time—early or late?

The final incident in the recent series of controversies may be most portentous of all, because it suggests a threat to PBS's First Amendment rights from outside the network. Early in April the Reagan-appointed chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, William J. Bennett, let it be known that he objected to a program the endowment had indirectly funded, called *From the Ashes . . . Nicaragua Today*. The show, a sympathetic portrayal of Nicaragua under Sandinist rule, was broadcast on public TV and followed by a panel discussion among a number of

Beyond Reaganomics...

The economy is in a mess, and everybody knows it.

Everybody but the economists and corporate propagandists who pretend we're all in it 'together'.

Finally . . . a book for the rest of us.

A book written for working people in the United States.

What's Wrong with the U.S. Economy? has grown out of years of courses with trade unionists, rank-and-file and grass roots activists. In union halls and labor studies programs. Through workshops and discussions.

Why is this book unique?

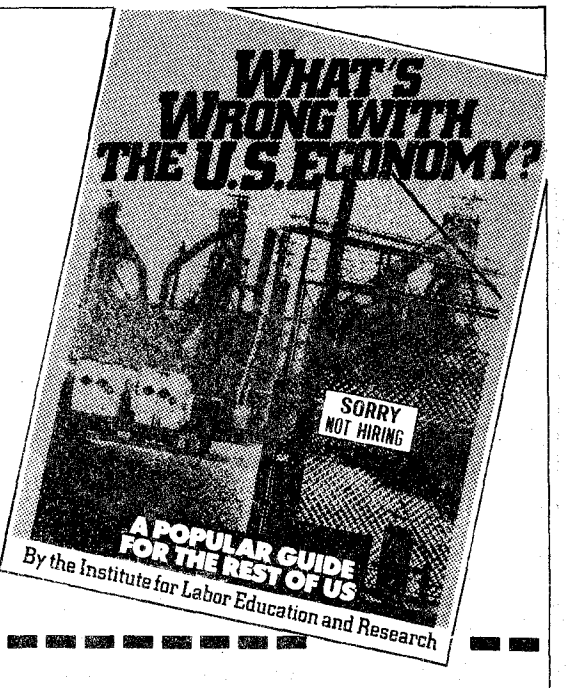
It is solid and informative—with careful analysis of how the economy works and how we got into the mess we're in.

But it is the combination of thorough analysis and lively style that gives the book its edge.

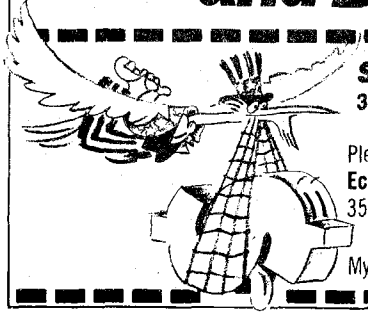
Quotes and photos of working people by Earl Dotter and Bob Gumpert mingle with a comic strip and illustrations by Howard Saunders.

The writing is accessible and down-to-earth.

We think everybody can use and learn from ***What's Wrong with the U.S. Economy?***


WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE U.S. ECONOMY?
SORRY NOT HIRING
A POPULAR GUIDE FOR THE REST OF US
By the Institute for Labor Education and Research

and Beyond B.S.



South End Press
302 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02116

Please send _____ copies of **What's Wrong with the U.S. Economy?** at $10.00 paper. Orders for 5 or more copies qualify for 35% discount. (Orders must be pre-paid; publisher pays postage.)

My check for $_____ is enclosed. ☐ Please send catalogue.

Name _____

Address _____

City & State _____

Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

journalists, recruited by WETA in Washington, D.C., to balance the film's cheerful perspective. Although Bennett did not see the discussion, he called the film itself "unabashed socialist-realism [*sic*] propaganda" unsuitable "to have received Federal funds."

Such an intrusion by a high-level member of the Administration sent ripples of fear in many directions. "It's an inhibition of free speech, using a heavy term like 'propaganda,'" commented Helena Solberg Ladd, the film's producer. "The public should be able to see many points of view, and my film was the only one I know on TV that bothered to ask a Nicaraguan family how it felt." "It is certainly inappropriate for a Federal official charged with administering grants to insert his or her intellectual or political views," argued former endowment chairman Joseph Duffy. The inevitable result, he said, would be to foster "the idea that the agency's awards are offered on the basis of a narrow political perspective."

Under the barrage of criticism, Bennett has retreated somewhat. He opposed the show, he said later, not because it was propagandistic but because "neither its theme nor its approach is related to the humanities." But it seems clear that PBS officials, already showing signs of nervousness, are likely to regard such remarks as both an announcement about future funding policy and a political warning about the kinds of programs the Administration will favor.

The individual episodes in this recent conjunction of embarrassing events are not especially ominous in themselves, but taken together they raise certain serious questions.

One has to do with how PBS perceives its distribution function and to what extent it should set itself up as some kind of prior censor. It is true enough that PBS is caught between its mandate to offer diverse views and the pressure from its often cautious member stations, which favor relatively safe entertainment. But when and how does a distribution service become the final editorial arbiter? If, for scheduling purposes, PBS finds a need to see unfinished programs and then proceeds to make suggestions for changes of substance, is this prior censorship? Is it "improvement" that renders the program more suitable for a wide audience, or is it editorial interference, overstepping the boundaries of a distributor's role? Is a distributor empowered only to accept or reject material, or can it demand revisions or threaten loss of prime-time slots to force changes?

A second question concerns the political climate in which public television must operate, particularly when that climate gives indications of being hostile to experimental and liberal programming. Perhaps if there hadn't been a fuss over Davis's "Seventeen"—no doubt partially attributable to the Coalition for Better Television's scrutiny of the morality of what's shown on network TV—*Blood and Sand* wouldn't have run into such problems. Yet, if either treatment had appeared in a newspaper, there would have been no controversy. So, even given this conservative climate, PBS seems too eager to rein itself in—soft-pedaling difficult material and hoping to get by on the easy, noncontroversial cultural and scientific spectacles it usually plugs into high-visibility slots.

Many in public television think that if PBS shies away from controversy, the system will become useless. The cable networks are already overflowing with the arts fare that used to be PBS's raison d'être. So what is left for PBS to do that commercial broadcasting doesn't? The answer seems obvious: educational programs, local news, innovative coverage of the arts, in-depth reporting and documentaries with unusual slants on neglected topics.

The simple concept that E. B. White had back when nonprofit broadcasting was new seems even more pertinent today. "TV could address itself to the idea of excellence," he said, "not the idea of acceptability. It should restate and clarify the social dilemma and the political pickle." □

'ENTITLEMENTS'—FOR WHOM?

Where the Health Dollar Really Goes

JOHN EHRENREICH

Of all the words the Reagan Administration is using to obscure the significance of its assault on the public welfare, none is more misleading than the newly trendy term "entitlements." "Entitlements" are those programs set up in such a way that benefits must be paid to any person who meets the eligibility standards established by law. The levels of spending are thus determined not by prior appropriations but by the number of people demanding the benefits of a particular program and the amounts they demand.

"Entitlements" have been singled out by the Administration as a chief cause of our present budgetary fix. The word conveys images of greedy individuals supping at the public tables ("Current entitlement programs provide many billions of dollars to persons who are not in true need," complains Presidential adviser Robert B. Carleson), or of a disease in the body politic (we must "curb the growth of entitlements," the President said in his budget message, because they represent "automatic spending"). But "entitlements" is in fact a word that conceals, not reveals.

Consider: The growth in entitlements, from $80 billion in 1970 to more than $300 billion in 1981, when adjusted for inflation and increases in population, is actually less than 50 percent over the last decade—and well over half of that involves such popular programs as Social Security and Medicare.

Consider: Medicaid is an entitlement program, but the program that provides food supplements for pregnant

John Ehrenreich, the editor of The Cultural Crisis of Modern Medicine *(Monthly Review Press), teaches at the State University of New York at Old Westbury.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

women and children under 5 is not. Both programs are designed to improve the health of the poor; the difference between them is the budgetary mechanism used to finance them, not the social purposes they reflect.

Consider: Aid to Families with Dependent Children is an entitlement program; so is retirement pay for career military officers. Same budgetary category, radically different social purposes.

An examination of one area of government spending, health and health care, helps reveal the emptiness of the term "entitlements." In 1981 the Federal government spent some $80 billion on health. Two substantial parts of this budget, Medicare ($39.1 billion) and Medicaid ($16.9 billion) are considered to be entitlement programs, while miscellaneous health care services ($4.3 billion), research ($3.8 billion) and military and veterans' medical services ($12.5 billion) are not. Let us examine the truths behind these figures.

First, one of the largest entitlements—if the term has any real, as opposed to budgetary, meaning—is ignored entirely: general tax benefits. Individual taxpayers can deduct medical expenses and charitable contributions to health agencies from their taxable incomes, and they need not pay taxes on premiums paid for health insurance on their behalf by their employers; nonprofit hospitals are exempt from a variety of taxes, including Federal income taxes and local property and sales taxes; and interest on certain state and local bonds sold to finance hospital construction is also tax-exempt. This obviously amounts to an entitlement—after all, it is in effect money from the Federal government and its magnitude is determined by individuals and private organizations, not by legislative appropriations. And it has a very significant impact on the Federal budget, totaling no less than $23 billion in 1981 ($5.2 billion in individual tax deductions, $14.2 billion in exemptions for employer-paid insurance premiums, $600 million from tax-exempt bonds, and what I estimate to be $3 billion from hospital tax exemptions).

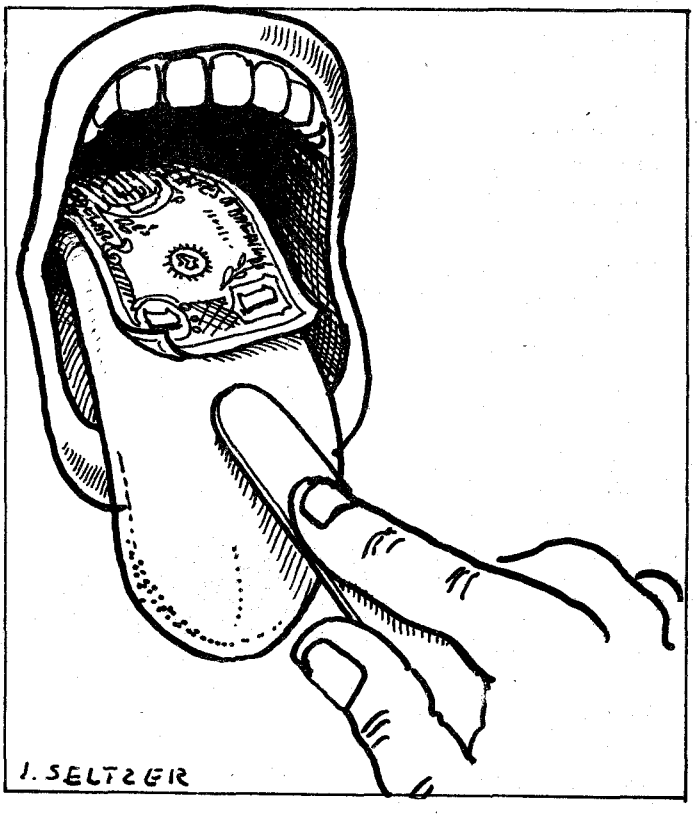
Perhaps more important, it is necessary to see who benefits from these entitlement programs. It is individuals, of course, who receive the medical services—poor individuals in the case of Medicaid, individuals of all economic groups in the case of Medicare and tax benefits. (The amount spent on the last two, we should note, adds up to almost four times the amount spent on the first.) But it is doctors and hospitals that benefit financially and make the decisions that control the level of expenditures.

The volume of medical services provided by Federal programs is primarily determined not by patients but by doctors. It may be the patient who decides to go to the doctor in the first place, but from then on, doctors decide whether the patient should be tested, whether he should be hospitalized and for how long, what drugs to prescribe and virtually all other matters affecting the number of health-related dollars spent. Moreover, doctors determine their own fees, and vigorously resist efforts to control them. (In Maryland, doctors are up in arms over the attempt of the state insurance commissioner to limit their Blue Shield reimbursements. Some doctors are threatening to withdraw from Blue Shield if the state's proposal is adopted.)

Similarly, the hospital, not the patient, determines the remaining health costs. A reason hospitalization costs have risen so rapidly in recent years is that Medicare and Medicaid, as well as the Blue Cross system, reimburse hospitals essentially on the basis of whatever the hospitals say their "reasonable costs" are. Under such circumstances there is little pressure on hospitals to save money and a strong incentive to increase costs in all categories that will be reimbursed by outside payers. And so hospitals purchase the most elaborate and up-to-date equipment, regardless of need, and expand their plants unnecessarily. Moreover, it is not only the hospitals but the drug companies, the medical-electronics companies and the hospital-supply companies that profit from the vast expenditures provided by Medicare, Medicaid and tax exemptions.

So when we look at the major health care entitlement programs, we discover that the decision to sup at the public table is made by the doctors, the decision as to how much should be taken from the public till is made by the doctors and the hospitals, and the financial benefits are received by the doctors, the hospitals and the companies that supply and finance the hospitals. Hardly a convincing case for Presidential adviser Carleson's fears—at least in the sense in which he undoubtedly meant them.

The reality of government health and health care programs is that both entitlement and nonentitlement programs are controlled by and provide financial benefits primarily for the providers and their suppliers. To the extent that "entitlement" means anything, it describes a situation in which it is the *providers* who are entitled. The conclusion is obvious: if we want to control or cut back on spending for



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

health care, we must control the behavior (the greed, some might say) of the providers.

But what does President Reagan propose? First, he wants individuals who are eligible for assistance under Medicaid and Medicare to pay more of their own health care costs. The penalty for the providers' greed, in other words, should be shifted onto the unhealthy individuals, either directly in increased costs or indirectly by forcing the acceptance of a lower level of health services. Second, the Administration is abandoning controls over hospital expansion, thus starting a wave of hospital construction undertaken more for the benefit of hospitals, construction firms and real estate speculators than for community health needs. And the whole operation, let us not forget, will be heavily subsidized by tax exemptions for construction bonds and by the ability of hospitals to recover their costs through government-paid daily hospital fees.

As soon as we penetrate the fog of entitlements, it becomes clear that Reagan budget-cutting has little to do with curbing medical costs or balancing the budget, much less with improving people's health. Rather it is simply part of the effort to redistribute income from the poor (including a large portion of the users of health services) to the well-to-do (including a large number of health providers, individual and corporate). This conclusion is confirmed if we look at the budget proposals for other programs affecting people's health: continued subsidies for tobacco growers (at the same time as funds for the Department of Health and Human Services' Office on Smoking are being cut); cuts in nutritional programs such as food stamps and food supplements for pregnant women and young children; cuts in occupational and environmental health programs; the rescinding of requirements for further improvements in automobile safety and exhaust emissions.

But it is all too easy to attack the Administration for its actions and its proposals. It does not follow that Federal health care expenditures are appropriate or that they should be increased without question. These conclusions would follow only if we assume the present system of health services and government programs, i.e., the right of the providers to determine the nature, cost and volume of health services and to benefit accordingly.

Actually, government spending on health care grew fourfold (in inflation-adjusted dollars) from 1965, before Medicaid and Medicare, to the present, and yet the nation's health did not improve in any way proportionate to the increase in expenditures.

Indicators of aggregate health status are notoriously tricky, but the improvements measured by most indexes are far from dramatic. For instance, life expectancy at age 20 has increased by only two years, from about 53 years to about 55 years, during the last fifteen years. Nor is there much reason to think that the fourfold expenditure increase played the major role in creating even that relatively modest gain. My point is not that programs such as Medicaid and Medicare were not great steps forward, but that part—probably a very large part—of the increased Federal spending for health was wasted, absorbed by the providers themselves; health care and health did not improve, only the financial health of the providers did.

From this perspective, the question presents itself: could we radically reorganize the way in which health care is delivered, possibly improving health dramatically, yet spend no more (or even less) than we do now? For example, suppose that instead of reimbursing doctors for outpatient services through Medicaid and Medicare, the government set up a decentralized network of local clinics staffed by salaried doctors and other health workers. Might we not deliver far more and better services at no increase in cost? The tragedy is that in our preoccupation with aggregate figures and mystifying budgetary categories like entitlements, questions such as these are unasked and almost unaskable. But the answers would seem to be obvious.

My analysis, then, suggests a criticism not only of the Administration's demagogy but also of the left's failure to escape the blinders of the current mystifying debates. Present programs—in education, social security, health and the rest—may be all we've got, and the temptation to demand they be maintained is great. But we know that many of these programs are not very good even when they are well financed. Failure to understand that restoring the budget cuts is not enough, failure to recognize that creating decent human services is not merely a matter of more money but of fundamental reconceptualization and reorganization, will condemn the left to political ineffectiveness. □

'COVERING THE UNTHINKABLE'

Is Available at LOW BULK RATES

_____1 copy $3
_____10 copies $8
_____50 copies $30
_____100 copies $50
_____1,000 copies $300

This special issue of *The Nation*, with articles by Richard Pollak and Michael Kazin on the indisputably most important issue facing humankind, and a unique directory of organizations working against nuclear weaponry and nuclear power, may be obtained at special rates for classrooms, conventions, clubhouses or congregations. Please fill in the coupon below.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AFTER SILKWOOD, GALATIA

Kerr-McGee Tries Union Territory

ROBERTA LYNCH

Most people think of southern Illinois as farm country—a flat and unappealing landscape of corn rows and plowed fields. Yet for all its rural trappings, it is dominated as much by coal as it is by crops. There are about forty active coal mines in the area. Three quarters of Illinois' 15,500 coal miners work in the southern part of the state, and 97 percent of the state's coal miners are members of the United Mine Workers of America.

This is fiercely pro-union country. Illinois was the home district of John L. Lewis, and the U.M.W. is deeply ingrained in the local culture. People have died in the mines here and they have died in the defense of the union. The struggles and the bloodshed of the past are not just words in history books; they are part of the texture of daily life.

The town of Galatia in Saline County is the heart of this area. And it is just one-half mile from Galatia that the Kerr-McGee Corporation intends to open a non-union coal mine. The mine is being built by Mine Contractors, a wholly owned subsidiary of Kerr-McGee, and the company has imported workers from Kentucky, Indiana and as far away as New Mexico in order to avoid hiring local construction workers who are union members.

"Even when a union contractor has the lowest bid for a job, he'll be turned down," says Tony Kujawa, a U.M.W. executive board member from Illinois. "They don't want a single U.M.W. member to even set foot on their property."

Kerr-McGee is, of course, no stranger to controversy. The Karen Silkwood case—involving charges of plutonium poisoning, a young woman's mysterious death in a car crash and lengthy litigation—brought the company to national attention. Silkwood was a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, and it was that union that supported her in her charges against the company.

"Unfortunately," says Michael Holland, an attorney for the U.M.W. in Illinois, "the lesson Kerr-McGee seems to have learned from the Silkwood case is not that it shouldn't poison its workers but that it should make sure there's no union around to stir up trouble if it does."

Why would such a doggedly anti-union company set up shop in southern Illinois? One answer is money: coal is a $1.5 billion industry in Illinois, and Kerr-McGee has an option on 1 billion tons of the state's coal. But another answer may well involve the arrogance of power.

From the day it arrived in Illinois, Kerr-McGee began trumpeting its anti-union views in the local press. One of its executive officers visited local chambers of commerce to explain the company's views. And Kerr-McGee at first refused even to talk with the U.M.W.

Such arrogance does not sit well in Saline County. "You'd hear people talking about Kerr-McGee everywhere," says John Cox, a U.M.W. organizer. "They'd drive by the site regularly just to check it out. It was particularly galling because we have 2,000 U.M.W. members out of work in this state."

On the afternoon of August 18, 1981, more than 2,000 miners gathered at the Kerr-McGee office in Galatia to let the company know how they felt. No demonstration had been called by the union, but word of mouth had brought people from throughout the area into town. They were quickly surrounded by state troopers, while helicopters carrying tear gar circled overhead.

"The men did not go out there for violence," says one local resident. "They just wanted to express their point of view. But when they saw all those armed police and those helicopters—they got real angry."

By day's end, that anger had exploded. The Kerr-McGee office was in flames and two and a half miles of fencing surrounding the mine site had been torn down.

It wasn't just those in the streets who were angry. "The fire department hosed down the nearby buildings so they wouldn't go up, but it just let the Kerr-McGee office alone," says a community resident. "None of the fire departments from nearby towns would come at all. They said they were out of water."

Seventeen people were arrested in the days following the incident. This January, the first twelve went to trial; they were acquitted, and charges against the others were soon dropped.

John Cox has no doubt that this outcome reflected the widespread popular support for the union. "Even people who aren't in the U.M.W., their daddies or their granddaddies were, and they know what it means."

Jean Bishop, one of the organizers of STUN (Support The Union Now), a group made up largely of miners' wives and daughters opposed to Kerr-McGee's non-union policies, agrees. "People here believe in the union. We've had a hard row to hoe to get it, and we intend to keep it. We were all raised on the union. My grandparents were for it, and I'm raising my children to be for it," Bishop says.

Kerr-McGee has rebuilt the fence surrounding the mine site, this time with barbed wire trim and concrete fortifications. Dirt is piled in mounds along the fence and guards patrol its gates. The company has filed for an injunction that will keep the U.M.W. away from the property.

But Kerr-McGee will not win easily against these people, with their traditions and their convictions. "We're gonna organize," says Cox. "That's all there is to it. Whoever they bring in to work there, we're gonna organize them."

Bishop puts it more directly: "I don't think they'll be able to operate that mine non-union in this area. There's just no way." □

Roberta Lynch is an activist in the job safety and health movement and a freelance writer in Chicago.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Four Ways

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

system of control in production—as we have had throughout the history of the capitalist economy in the United States—it is likely that workers will rebel from time to time. Employers may be unable to provide enough rewards to establish strong work incentives. Or the foremen and supervisors may overplay their strong hands.

The shortest route to a solution lies through progress toward greater workplace democracy. If workers can play a central role in determining the conditions and character of work, they are likely to feel strong connections to the production process. With those connections they may be able both to improve their working conditions and to restore their work incentives. Much greater worker participation in and control over production decisions will increase workers' hourly output *because* it increases worker incentives and, therefore, worker effort.

This principle is not pie-in-the-sky prophecy for the future. There are concrete steps we can take toward greater workplace democracy which would simply follow directions already pioneered in Europe and Japan.

§ We could adopt legislation, following a Swedish example, that would guarantee workers the right to negotiate (in collective bargaining) about anything related to production. (This could simply be an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act.) Current "management rights" clauses in most contracts now make this difficult.

§ Following the Japanese example, unions could demand lifetime employment security so that workers would feel they had a stake in their own enterprises. Conservatives in the United States have always argued that job security reduces worker incentives. In Japan, it has the opposite effect.

2. Too Much Corporate Bureaucracy? Try Community Enterprises. The problem with giant corporations is that they are too large. The problem with nationalized government enterprises is that they face too little competition. And the problem with tiny profit-making businesses is that they go out of business the minute they become unprofitable—which happens frequently.

The solution seems to lie in what growing numbers of people in the United States call *community enterprises*. A community enterprise can be defined as a "firm" engaged in production or distribution, controlled democratically by a group of workers or community residents, in which the community has placed its hopes and economic interests through investment and technical and planning support.

Because these enterprises would be controlled democratically, it is relatively unlikely that they would develop top-heavy bureaucracies. And because they would be supported through investment and technical and planning assistance from the government, it is unlikely that they would be as inefficient and uncompetitive as many small businesses.

The opportunities are evident and the possibilities widespread. If these possibilities are pursued intelligently, as a report from a recent conference supported by more than 500 union and community groups concluded, "we can at once expand the productive capacity of the nation and include in that increased prosperity those persons long denied access to the economic mainstream. Here is the opportunity to develop new industries; to create jobs; to harness entrepreneurial talent and the wasted productive capacity of involuntarily unemployed people; [and] to develop businesses and viable economies in depressed urban and rural areas and in communities hard-hit by plant shutdowns." (*Expanding the Opportunity to Produce*, The Corporation for Enterprise Development.)

3. Too Much Corporate Waste? Try Democratic Planning. During the 1970s, the U.S. economy wasted roughly one seventh of its potential output—through unemployment and through wasted factories, machines and offices.

a) Full Employment. The first solution is straightforward. We need public policies committed to maintaining our economy at full employment—dedicated to providing a regular job at decent wages to everyone who wants and needs one. This was the conclusion which many drew after the despair of the Depression of the 1930s. Forceful economic planning can easily achieve full employment. Why has it taken us so long to sustain that commitment?

Corporations have feared full employment because it reduces employer leverage over their workers. They have frequently sought "wholesome" recessions. If we are prepared to put our needs above those of the corporations, if we are ready to pursue real workplace democracy, then this reason for fearing full employment should cease to haunt us.

b) Price Controls. The second fear about full-employment policies has involved concern about inflation.

There have been places and times when full employment and stable prices have come together—in the United States during World War II, in many European countries during the postwar period. The combination is not impossible.

The key, as with full employment, is a public commitment to stable prices and a ceiling on private-sector price increases. As long as the government provides subsidies and assistance to companies whose costs increase for reasons outside their control—as with OPEC energy price hikes—there is no reason for unusual cost increases to squeeze enterprise profits.

If price controls are manageable in a variety of forms, then why are companies and economists so scornful? In general, companies oppose price controls because they fervently hope for situations in which, like energy companies over the past several years, they could earn windfall profits through unregulated price increases.

For their sakes, they consistently oppose price controls. For our sakes—in order to facilitate the transition to full employment *and* to reduce our vulnerability to sudden price increases—a popular program must include a program of price controls.

4. Too Much Corporate Power? Try Democratic Capital Controls. Corporations gain their ultimate power through their control of the means of production. We hesitate to challenge them on other issues for fear that they'll pack their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bags and machines and move away. This suggests that democratic capital controls must provide the kind of foundation for a popular economic program that corporate control over the means of production provides for corporate power. Without such controls, the popular orchestra will never finish the overture.

a) Democratic Allocation of Savings. It's not that we don't have plenty of savings we could use for investment.

There are three main funds into which working households pour their savings: pension funds (both private and public); savings bank deposits; and insurance reserves. These three pools of working households' savings could provide us enormous economic leverage.

Consider the numbers for 1979:

§ Corporate stock equity assets were worth $906.9 billion; this was a measure of the market value of their owned means of production.

§ Pension fund reserves totaled $622.1 billion. Working households' shares of savings bank deposits and insurance reserves totaled another $915.1 billion. Together, working households' total fund of savings amounted to $1,537.2 billion—two-thirds greater than corporate equity.

If we controlled the investment of those funds in the ways that corporations control their own assets, we could withstand their blackmail threats of capital strike. And we could channel our own savings into projects and enterprises that, in our collective judgment, would best serve our own needs. It would not be all that difficult:

§ Unions could make their own decisions about their own pension fund investments, setting priorities to serve members' needs.

§ Community investment boards could allocate savings deposits and insurance company assets, allocating them according to community priorities.

In either case, members and resident priorities could easily be determined through surveys or elections.

b) Plant Closing Legislation. These steps would help provide greater independence through use of our own savings. What about the leverage that corporations retain through use of their assets?

Many European countries have plant closing legislation. These laws establish minimum notification, such as two-year warning periods, if firms are planning to close their plants, and a system providing for company compensation to the community if the consequences of dislocation are severe. In West Germany, for example, "any relocation or transfer of work must be approved by the government and submitted to a works council elected by employees. If they do not agree to the proposed shifts, binding mediation occurs. No plant may close without a permit from the state exchange, which can reject the proposed action when substantial unemployment exists in the areas affected." (*Economic Democracy*, Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer.)

Such legislation can dramatically reduce corporate leverage and, therefore, increase our democratic control over capital.

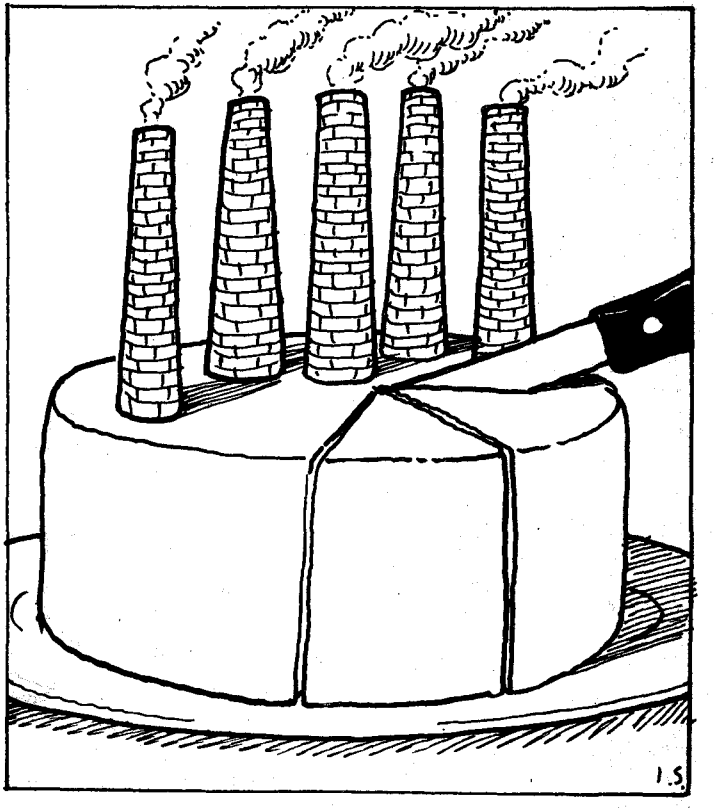
c) A New International Economic Order. Suppose we gain greater democratic control over the allocation of capital in the United States. Won't we still be vulnerable to the manipulations of multinationals and powerful suppliers like OPEC that lie outside our domestic political jurisdiction?

We must pursue two different strategies to address these problems.

First, we must move toward greater domestic self-sufficiency wherever possible. The economic policies of the last twenty years have encouraged corporations to export our jobs and to import necessities. Our emphasis must be the opposite. We need to require U.S. corporations to invest in the United States, providing U.S. workers with jobs and U.S. consumers with greater domestic self-sufficiency. And we need to make productive investments in order to reduce the costs of domestically produced necessities to the point at which our domestic costs are at least as low as those for the imports on which we have been dependent. Through such investments, we can *both* increase our control over our economic welfare *and* avoid a lower standard of living.

Second, we must work to create a new international economic order based on the same economic principles that we are following domestically. The prosperity of the United States after World War II was purchased at the expense of the rest of the world. As long as we live in a world in which the strong prey on the weak, the rich gain at the expense of the poor, the haves take from the have-nots, our own economic welfare will always be threatened by the political instability—from rebellions or even World War III—which such conditions of domination are always likely to breed. □

The policy suggestions in this article are developed in detail by Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf in Free Lunch: A Democratic Alternative to the Economics of Greed, *forthcoming from Doubleday Anchor Books.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOLLOW-UP.

FOOTNOTES TO 'MISSING'

WNET, *The Times* And Some History

JOSE YGLESIAS

Andrew Kopkind is perfectly right, of course, about the movie *Missing* ["'Missing': Cultural Battlefield," *The Nation*, April 17], and I should like to offer some footnotes to his article from my own experience during the days when Flora Lewis's employers considered me enough of a Latin American expert to send me down there to write articles for their Sunday magazine.

My last assignment in Chile for *The New York Times* kept me there for a month, during the last half of December 1972 and the first half of January 1973, and for the first time I called at an American embassy while doing research for a journalistic piece. I went because I'd run into an American Fulbright professor in the streets of Santiago, whom I'd first met in Buenos Aires, who urged me to go to the American Embassy for the best black-market exchange rates on the dollar. I went and was most politely received by the economic officer of the embassy. I asked disingenuous questions about the state of the economy in Chile and for recommendations of Chileans whom I might profitably interview. When he had warmed up sufficiently I told him I was in a quandary about exchanging my dollars. His recommendations for sources were of the sort that only a Juan de Onis would have taken seriously—the Chilean equivalent of the National Association of Manufacturers and the like—but he exchanged some American Express checks of mine for crisp, new Chilean issue at a rate that none of the eager hustlers in the lobby of my hotel could equal.

A couple of years ago I told this story to an American career diplomat who comes to Maine in the summer to get away from embassies. Though now in Europe, he had served in various Latin American countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and he would not believe me. "Shall I describe his office and the position of the safe?" I said, and he spluttered some more and said, "Well, it was not us [the State Department], thank God, but the C.I.A. that was involved there." He should be an example to Flora Lewis of the Yankee virtue of owning up to faults.

Of course, this was evidence only of low-level trifling with the Chilean economy, not the complicity in murder that aroused Flora Lewis. But *The Times* yields very grudgingly to left-wingers about the U.S. role in Latin America, particularly when violence and murder are involved. In 1969 I returned from an assignment in Brazil and published in *The New York Times Magazine* the first account here of the kind of torture that the generals' regime used as governing policy. *The Times*'s correspondent in Rio de Janeiro wrote to say that my article made his own accounts of the tortures finally publishable, for his boss in New York had heretofore taken the position that his stories could not be used since they were based only on hearsay. He could not, of course, speak to the dead, and the one or two survivors who would speak to him were not about to let him use their names. I told this to Nat Hentoff, and his reply is still apt more than a decade later: "Even when you tell them, *The New York Times* still doesn't know."

From the very first days of the Chilean coup there was a lot of nervousness in the American establishment about journalists—or anybody for that matter—reaching the conclusions that Costa-Gavras has brilliantly laid out before us in *Missing*. The coup occurred in September 1973, and in October I left Maine to spend a few days in New York helping José Garcia, a young documentary film maker with the Public Broadcasting Service, put together an hour report on Chile.

The program director's only contribution to our discussion was: "You must show the women with the pots." You may remember those middle-class women of Santiago, highly visible in our mass media, who took to parading with empty pots to protest the shortages that they blamed on the left-wing government. My response to the program director: Yes, we must show them, for it makes it more impressive that despite the shortages (later proved to be artificial) the government increased its voter support in the March 1973 elections by 7 percent.

Garcia made a rather good documentary. My part in it consisted of introducing his interview of Ted Kennedy (whose position on Chile has always been impeccable) and of moderating a discussion among several people presumably knowledgeable about the situation. Garcia easily went along with the other demand of the program director's—that a representative of the military regime be present—but the man who accepted was smarter than the program director and did not show up at the taping; in fact, he made himself totally unavailable, even for an explanation of his absence. The documentary was filmed and edited in a week and was to appear the following Monday, first on WNET, New York City's public TV station; there were requests for it from San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia and, I think, Washington, and it was Garcia's hope that it would immediately "go national."

The telephone response in New York was wonderful. Garcia and his colleagues were delighted. Surely the show would go national. Colleges were already calling in to use it. But PBS executives were very unhappy about the film; they did not repeat the show and did not allow any member station to broadcast it either. Indeed, they were so worried about it that they had the master and all copies erased. No daily newspaper carried a word about this, certainly not

Jose Yglesias, a novelist who has also written on Latin America, writes frequently for The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New York Times. (I don't know where Flora Lewis was then.) Only *Variety* did (proving that it is really our one newspaper of record), a long front-page story from which I learned that Garcia lost not only his film but also his job producing a regular Spanish program on WNET.

Someone told me at the time that these troubles were all due to the fact that a member of the board of PBS or WNET was also on the board of Kennecott Copper. I didn't check this. Should I believe it? Or should I, like Flora Lewis, wait for a photograph of a smoking gun held to the program director's head?

Kopkind did not refer to the reception the United States gave another Costa-Gavras movie, *State of Siege*. That one was scheduled to have its premiere in America as one of a series of distinguished movies to celebrate the opening of the American Film Institute Theater at the Kennedy Center in Washington. This was late in the winter of 1973, before the coup in Chile. The showing was canceled when officials learned that its story was based on the Dan Mitrione case. Mitrione was an American working out of the embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay, who was kidnapped by the Tupamaros and, when Nixon would not accede to their demands, executed. Mitrione was characterized by the Tupamaros as someone who had trained South American police in torture and who had, both in Brazil and in Uruguay, worked with the police in their questioning of captured guerrillas. Costa-Gavras did not make either the political or the esthetic leap in *State of Siege* that he did in *Missing*: he let these charges remain unproven. But he had been privy to the tapes the Tupamaros made of their questioning of Mitrione, and only a fool would have resisted the implication of the movie's story: that the United States generally was responsible for the tortures as a matter of policy and Mitrione specifically was responsible for carrying them out. However, it was a different time, as Kopkind would surely remind me.

Since then we have learned, particularly through A. J. Langguth's *Hidden Terrors*, that Mitrione was indeed the agent of torture that the Tupamaros accused him of being and that all the officials, from Nixon down, who lauded him at the time as a noble "good neighbor" were lying.

Is it important if the truth outs sooner rather than later? *State of Siege* owed much of its authenticity to the fact that it was filmed in Chile when Allende was president, *Missing* to its having been shot in Mexico. Will we be arguing someday about the price Mexico had to pay for its policy toward El Salvador's guerrillas? I was going to say that I don't mind that I have to go to a fiction film rather than to a documentary to obtain the kind of knowledge Costa-Gavras brings me in *Missing*, but that would imply that his political ideas and the way they work out in life do not belong in the movie and are not really the province of an artist. But the fact is that I should demand both the esthetic and the political leap that he makes. Writers of fiction—novels, plays, movies—who have no impassioned ideas seldom get beneath the surface of their material and, worst of all, are bores. □

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE 1980s CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1982 8 PM
Tisch Hall, New York University
40 West 4th Street, NYC
Contribution $2.50

SPEAKERS:
LEONARD BOUDIN, ESQ.
"Academic Freedom: Its Constitutional Context"

FRANCES FOX PIVEN
"Reaganomics and Academic Freedom"

BERTELL OLLMAN
"Academic Repression: Today and Tomorrow"

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1982
9:30 AM-6:30 PM
N.Y.U. School of Law
40 Washington Sq. So., NYC
Registration $5.00

SPEAKERS:
JOSEPH MURPHY
"The Role of the University in the 1980s"

ROBERT LEKACHMAN
"Academic Freedom in a Failing Economy"

PANELS:
Freedom and the Corporate Academy: Universities, Corporations and Government

Academic Freedom, Academic Repression: Race, Sex and Political Ideology

Academic Freedom and Structural Change in the University: Unions, Tenure, Adjuncts, Budgets, Curriculum

PARTICIPANTS: Stanley Aronowitz, Haywood Burns, Jean Bethke Elshtain, George Frangos, Bertram Gross, Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Craig Kaplan, Wells Keddie, Corliss Lamont, Tony Mazzocchi, David Noble, Alphonso Pinkney, Victor Rabinowitz, Eugene Rivers, Ellen Schrecker, Catharine Stimpson, Michael Useem

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE FOUNDATION, INC.
175 Fifth Avenue, NYC
(212) 673-2040

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Glad Hearts at the Supermarket

LOUIS MENAND

The criticism of what used to be called, in the simpler days of the two Dwights, Eisenhower and Macdonald, the "popular arts" is in a state of cheerful confusion. Here are a few examples of recent popular culture criticism which, though not especially consequential in themselves, seem to me symptomatic of the present state of affairs:

> I am no more capable of mulling over Elvis without thinking about Herman Melville than I am of reading Jonathan Edwards (. . . the Puritan who made his name with "Sinners In the Hands of An Angry God") without putting on Robert Johnson's records as background music.
>
> (Greil Marcus, *Mystery Train*)

> By this time (11:30 p.m., EST), even we grown-ups are starting to go numb, one side-effect of an evening at the tube. . . . What we need now is something funny, spontaneous, a little raucous, and this party is just the thing, and a rarity on television: a good hour, among people who really know how to entertain.
>
> (Mark Crispin Miller and Karen Runyon, "The Life of the Party: Johnny Carson vs. The Culture of Narcissism," *The New Republic*, December 9, 1981)

And in a recent contribution to the *Journal of Popular Culture*, which is sponsored by the Popular Literature Section of the Modern Language Association, Margaret J. King advises that "Disneyland, with its many historical settings, has a great number of traditional 'worlds' for re-living by Americans," and goes on to say that since it offers visitors "a complex, sophisticated interaction between new and old," Disneylands might have beneficial effects on the populations of developing countries.

What is noteworthy about this criticism is not the giddy claims it makes for its subjects' importance but the avidity with which its authors seek to identify themselves with the experience of the popular phenomena they are describing. There are many tougher-minded critics of popular culture around—James Wolcott on television and Pauline Kael on Hollywood movies, for example—but they are not really different in kind from those I have just quoted: Wolcott's and Kael's displeasure is expressed in pretty much the same participatory mode as the satisfaction of Marcus and the rest. What all these critics want to insist on is the ability of popular works to provide intellectuals with genuine—positive or negative—cultural experiences, to affect them, in short, just as works of high culture are supposed to affect them.

Now giving serious critical attention to contemporary popular culture is clearly a desirable thing, since popular culture *is* meaningful and *does* affect us, and we need to understand why and how this is so. And admittedly the distinction between high culture as art and popular culture as commodity which these critics implicitly attack is, wherever it is still asserted, worth attacking. But the current critical attitude toward popular culture is still, I think, an unexamined one, and it prompts two questions: first, how has it happened that so many critics have rushed to confer on the products of popular culture the status of "art"? And second, to what extent does this way of thinking and writing about popular culture really deepen our understanding of it?

Intellectual interest in popular culture has attracted the attention of a number of commentators recently, among them Thomas Edwards in last summer's issue of the critical quarterly *Raritan*. Edwards speculates that "the attractiveness of low pleasures to high minds may be, in part, something like Empsonian pastoral, that 'double plot' wherein complex and simple people, aristocrats and swains, enact a kind of mutual respect and even affection through apparently 'misconceiving' one another in terms that yet contain deep, if incomplete, truths." Edwards's faith in the purity of intellectuals' motives is a little awe-inspiring; it seems to me that the reasons behind the current enthusiasm for popular culture are less reassuring than his analysis indicates. Like all intellectual attitudes, this one has a social history, and it is a history worth attending to.

Only in the last fifteen years or so have intellectuals felt comfortable writing about their experiences with the dangerous seductions of popular culture. Prior to the late 1960s, serious interest in popular works, films excepted, was the province of an undefended minority. The popularity of the mystery novel among otherwise serious people, for example, prompted Edmund Wilson to a famous disapproval ("Who Cares Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?" and its sequel, "Mr. Holmes, They Were the Footprints of a Gigantic Hound!" in 1945); and the high-brow pretensions of jazz enthusiasts stirred T.W. Adorno to declare righteously and obtusely that "anyone who allows the growing respectability of mass culture to seduce him into equating a popular song with modern art because of a few false notes squeaked by a clarinet; anyone who mistakes a triad studded with 'dirty notes' for atonality, has already capitulated to barbarism."

In cases where the appreciation for the popular work was more assertive and articulate, the critic often had some high-culture ax to grind, as in T. S. Eliot's Arnoldian admiration for the English music hall: behind his tribute to Marie Lloyd is an attack on the moral depravity of the middle class, with its ubiquitous gramophones and cinemas. Or else, as with Dashiell Hammett's detective novels, it was precisely not the popular elements of the works that attracted serious comment but the sense that the writer or singer or film maker had got hold of something deeper than the usual stuff of popular art.

This search for an unexpected depth is still very much a feature of intellectual interest in popular culture: almost any amount of inconsistency and bathos can be forgiven if either a remnant of intentional irony or a compelling contradiction can be apprehended. But at the same time—and this is a recent development—intellectuals are not merely tolerant of but responsive to the very characteristics of the popular work that make it evanescent: the shameless desire to engage our feelings, which gives it its intensity; the penchant for capitalizing upon the fad or news item of the moment, which makes it a convenient vehicle for commenting on contemporary issues; its formulaic predictability, which permits us to unpack its ideo-

Louis Menand teaches in the English department at Princeton University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logical baggage with such easy wit (or to praise it for sophisticated self-parody); its glitziness—the sheer monumentality of its excesses; and not least, its frequent contempt for the solemn formalism of high culture. The attraction of these popular values is reinforced by the widespread notion that the high culture, having become increasingly rarefied and content-less, has abdicated its responsibilities to delight and instruct, and by the democratic conviction that no cultural taste group has a monopoly on moral or, for that matter, political probity.

Irreverence toward traditional culture and cultural values has been a part of this constellation of critical attitudes since the 1960s, when cultural latitudinarianism surfaced nearly everywhere. This attitude enjoyed an especially vigorous advocacy in Susan Sontag's *Against Interpretation*, particularly in the volume's last essay, "One Culture and the New Sensibility," which called for a sensibility based on the following principle:

> If art is understood as a form of discipline of the feelings and a programming of the emotions, then the feeling (or sensation) given off by a Rauschenberg painting might be like that of a song of the Supremes.

What is happening here is that in order to broaden the range of cultural experiences, the intellectual content of *all* art is being reduced to negligibility. And it is also apparent that much of this eagerness to give the Supremes—and Johnny Carson, Elvis Presley and Burt Reynolds—their critical due is the symptom of a terrific anxiety about the status not only of serious cultural criticism but of culture itself. Because the real and fundamental reason for the interest of intellectuals in popular culture is that for them there was no choice: it was love it or die. By the late 1960s, popular culture had permeated every aspect of life with an inexorability that was beyond the powers of any sort of intellectual antagonism to resist.

The conditions that created a cultural supermarket like Manhattan are one with the conditions of modern life: the greater availability of education, the increase in leisure time for all classes of workers, the development of advanced forms of mass communications, the arrival of a consumer society. And among the eggs broken in the making of the social omelet of contemporary life in this country was the idea of a stratified culture. I have been using the terms "high" and "popular" as though they identified objectively distinguishable kinds of art, but by the standards of any previous period, all contemporary art is now popular. The avant-garde, the showpiece of high art for more than a century, has become since the 1960s only another cultural commodity with its own marketplace and its own self-selected audience. It receives, to be sure, a disproportionate share of critical attention—criticism is, after all, one of its complementary goods—but it has ceased to exist as a powerful idea; it is today simply a product that promises a certain kind of esthetic experience. You go to Soho on a weekend, along with thousands of other people of all degrees of cultural expertise, and look at Walter De Maria's "Broken Kilometer," and then you go down the street to Dean & Deluca's and buy some expensive coffee. This is not Philistinism—the two experiences are not identical. But there is no longer any point in pretending that the relation between them is an adversarial one.

The breakdown of the idea that culture could be stratified according to some scheme like Dwight Macdonald's three cults—mass, mid and high—has proved to be a more profound event than anyone has really understood. The collapse of a cultural hierarchy threatens the status of all art, because it threatens to demystify it. And it is the fear of demystification that is responsible for the confusion now prevalent in the criticism of popular culture. Before the 1960s, criticism of popular culture was sociological and criticism of high culture was moral and esthetic. That is, a work of popular culture was understood to exist wholly as the result of identifiable social and ideological forces coming into contact with commercial possibilities: the popular work was a commodity, and the object of critical analysis was to decode its ideological and esthetic formulas in order to discover what was really being produced and consumed.

A work of high culture, though everyone acknowledged that it was to some degree the product of various social mechanisms, was understood to be distinguished from a popular work because it offered an experience that came out of but somehow transcended those determinants. The notion was that culture—high culture, that is—is greater than the sum of its sociological and ideological components, and that therefore the experience of high art is somehow a magical one, unique in its capacity to change the reader's or viewer's life.

Two things happened in the 1960s to break down this cultural and critical dichotomy, and they happened simultaneously: high culture was demystified—its special status was called into question—and popular culture was romanticized—its commercialism was no longer taken as presumptive evidence of its esthetic inconsequentiality. When Susan Sontag equated a Rauschenberg painting with a Supremes song, she was not claiming that they were cultural objects of equal value but that they had the same *social* status. They are both appeals to taste, her argument ran, and any taste, presumably until intelligently discredited, has, or ought to have, legitimacy.

This state of affairs created an impasse for all criticism—not simply for the criticism of popular culture—and it marks, among other things, the point where academic criticism split off from journalism. For once all cultural objects were seen in the same light, critics found themselves confronted with two alternatives: to treat all culture as commodity, or to treat all culture as art. The first alternative has led to the critical methodologies now fashionable in the academy: structuralism, deconstruction, feminist criticism and their Marxist variants. The second has led to critical journalism, to Greil Marcus's equation of Elvis and Melville.

The work of Roland Barthes is nicely illustrative here. *Mythologies*, which appeared in 1957 and which has been widely admired as a model for the criticism of popular culture, is a series of essays that decode various objects of mass culture, objects of apparently minimal artistic or cultural significance—photographs of food in magazines like *Elle*, travel guides, things made of plastic. Though exceptionally ingenious, these analyses were very much in the 1950s mode, since they treated the products of popular culture as the mystifications whereby a bourgeois society tries to give its values universal significance. Then, in 1970, Barthes's *S/Z* appeared, a complicated and comprehensive attempt to decode a work of high culture, a short story by Balzac. It took Barthes about three pages to decode Joseph Mankiewicz's film *Julius Caesar* and it took him

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New worlds of development

The author of *Three Worlds of Development*, which was hailed as "a crucial work of sociology" in *The Nation*, returns to the subject in a book examining key issues that have emerged over the past fifteen years. Professor Horowitz explores both the impact of resource scarcity on the third world and the origins of military rule, explaining why it has proved more effective than either western or socialist models in fostering development.

— IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ —

Beyond Empire & Revolution

MILITARIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION IN THE THIRD WORLD

SINCL 1478

$7.95 paperback, $19.95 cloth
At your bookstore or send your check to:
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS Box 900, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Anatomy of a Lynching
The Killing of Claude Neal
JAMES R. McGOVERN
A well-researched, unflinching account of one of the last "classic" southern lynchings—the brutal torture and death of Claude Neal in 1934. $17.50

Death in a Promised Land
The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921
SCOTT ELLSWORTH
FOREWORD BY JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN
Death in a Promised Land is the first thorough treatment of the racial riot in Tulsa. Ellsworth's account has all the excitement of an untold story enriched by interviews with survivors of that violent time. $19.95

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Baton Rouge 70803

about 300 to take apart Balzac's story, but the intention was the same in both cases: all cultural objects, Barthes was asserting, are susceptible to the same unmasking.

Those critics who preferred the second alternative, who preferred to maintain the idea of art's special status, were driven inevitably to the position that popular art offers the same experience of transcendence as high art. That is surely the attitude of those critics of popular culture I cited at the beginning of this essay, and the anxiety we sense behind their grandiose claims for certain popular works is an anxiety about the status of all art. Pauline Kael's exhaustive reviews are the record of someone who wishes to believe that the experience of watching a movie, even the most transparently commercial Hollywood release, can be the occasion for understanding something about ourselves and our lives, something that *cannot* be disassembled into a collection of show-business formulas and market-determined themes. It is precisely when she suspects that her responses are being manipulated that Kael is most vituperative. She is trying to preserve the sacredness of the esthetic experience in popular cinema and at the same time to inveigh against its exploitive tendencies; the result is that extraordinarily overstated first-person prose of hers which has become so infectious among writers on popular culture.

It is this same anxiety about the demystification of culture that accounts for the sense you get from Greil Marcus's *Mystery Train* that he is not so much elevating the importance of Elvis Presley as he is defending the importance of Herman Melville. And it is also responsible for the frantic leveling in a paper like *The Village Voice*, where every cultural experience is rendered in the same hyperbolic prose. From two separate pieces in a recent issue:

> "Jesse's Girl" was great, *Othello* with a good guitar hook, and the follow-up, "I've Done Everything for You," was just as bratty and frank, though less striking in the music department. This third single from *Working-Class Dog*, however, is just cranked-down Cheap Trick plus synthesizer.

> The following week brought Kubelick and the Philharmonic back to real-world business with an efficient and buoyant Mendelssohn "Italian" Symphony, a boringly even Prokofiev

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Classical" (the customers ate it up like a Little Mac), and Janacek's rousing Sinfonietta, with all that bright extra brass obliterating the ketchup and pickle.

The wisest course for a criticism faced with these two equally diminishing alternatives is naturally the most difficult one. It must start by recognizing the status all art, "high" and "popular," has for us today. As Robert Hughes has epigrammatically remarked, culture is our nature—it is to us what nature was to the nineteenth century. We see ourselves reflected in it, and we try to shape our lives after its good and bad examples. It is the sea we swim in; we can scarcely know its laws from our own. So we need to have our wits about us, for though it will undergo any contortion for our approval, culture does not love us. It has designs upon us.

One of the great misapprehensions of the intellectual is his notion that because he can see through the most thinly disguised ideological implications and the most obvious and cynically manipulative generic conventions of *Dallas* or *Sharky's Machine* or a Rolling Stones song he is therefore free to respond to them esthetically and remain immune to their deeper significances. Though we can distance ourselves readily enough from the experience of an individual television show or film or novel, we cannot get outside our continuous experience of all of them, the bombardment of cultural experiences that is contemporary life. It is even true that in a sense these experiences *are* privileged and transcendent—not because in theory they are not amenable to analysis but because no analysis we are capable of can ever quite get to the bottom of them. To realize this is to be relieved of our deepest anxieties about the fate of culture, but it is not a reason not to pursue the analysis of our cultural experiences as far as we can—if only to discover the rules of the game we are playing. □

Homage to Juan Rulfo

EARL SHORRIS

PEDRO PÁRAMO. *By Juan Rulfo. Translated by Lysander Kemp. Grove Press. 123 pp. $1.95.*

Many years ago, before he was 40, Juan Rulfo seems to have chosen to become an old man. Perhaps he had exploded: it happens to writers. He said he had children to feed, he said he was ill. After *Pedro Páramo*, after 1955, he wrote no more novels. Publishers approached him; magazines approached him; he remained silent.

When *Pedro Páramo* was published in the United States, the machinery of publicity had not yet been turned to Latin America. The novel was reviewed, praised and left to rest. The reaction in Latin America was very different: my Spanish copy, which is eight years old, is number 71,355 of the twelfth printing.

If you read this novel and think of García Márquez or Carlos Fuentes or Mario Vargas Llosa, you will know that they read it too. You will know that *One Hundred Years of Solitude* could not have been written without *Pedro Páramo*. You will know that modern Latin American literature had a beginning as distinct as a birth.

I confess that as one who sometimes writes novels I am twice enamored of this book. It reminds writers of the enduring truth of lies, and it teaches them that death and time need not always be as certain as street signs. It proves that an epic can be written in less than 125 pages, and it demonstrates to the ambitious that plain language need not be simple. Rulfo's novel has been a textbook for the writers who followed him, just as Faulkner's books were for Rulfo.

The difficulty a novelist has writing about a novel full of wonders is that he may forget to be a reader. Having studied the novel, muttering to himself in the role of the apprentice, desperate to learn, the writer must try, in his fourth reading, to recall the experience of the first reading. Something like a fiction emerges.

Fortunately, *Pedro Páramo* has more value than mere utility. It invites the writer to be a reader, to forget his clicking machine and his pile of pages. It begins:

> I came to Comala because I was told that my father, a certain Pedro Páramo, was living there. My mother told me so. And I promised her I would come to see him as soon as she died.
>
> But I didn't intend to keep my promise. Then quite recently I started to be filled with dreams, to let my hopes soar. And so I fashioned a world around the hope that there was someone called Pedro Páramo, who had been my mother's husband. That's why I came to Comala.

Simply, innocently, strangely, the novel begins. The young narrator crosses the mountains to the small, nearly deserted town. Along the way the sense of time is lost, the distinction between life and death is blurred. Mutes speak, the dead tell tales, the narration changes from first to third person.

There are seductions, rapes, murders, betrayals, the Mexican revolution, the rise and fall of the *caudillo* Pedro Páramo. There are more nights than days. If daily life were a dream, containing an entire history and culture locked in a comprehensible unreality, the novel would be no more than a dream. But *Pedro Páramo* is more than a dream, for everything in it that is fantastic is as credible as breakfast. Of course the dead can speak. What is history? What is culture? Man without memory is as unimaginable as man without dreams.

Rulfo is extravagant with clues to his intentions. A *comal* is the dish used for making tortillas, the most basic food in the Mexican diet, the "staff of life." The *comal* is one of the steps between nature and man. *Páramo* is the word for a high, barren plateau. *Dolores Preciado*, the name of the narrator's mother, means Precious Grief. There is even a character named Melquiades, a name that will be familiar to readers of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, the book of literary quotations in which one meets Rulfo's Melquiades, the rain of butterflies from Alejo Carpentier's *Lost Steps*, a Mexican revolutionary from Carlos Fuentes's *Death of Artemio Cruz* and so on. The first extravagances and the most successfully integrated, however, belong to Rulfo.

On the way to Comala, Juan Preciado meets Abundio the postman, who gives him directions. *Abundio* is the slang expression for a dunce. In the old days, when Abundio carried the mail, he brought news of the outside world, the world beyond the mountains. After

Earl Shorris is the author of two novels set in Mexico, The Boots of the Virgin *and, most recently,* Under the Fifth Sun, A Novel of Pancho Villa *(Delacorte/Dell).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he lost his hearing, he ceased speaking, for he did not want to say what he couldn't hear. In the novel we meet Abundio when he spoke and his name meant abundant, and then we meet him as Abundio meaning dunce. But first we meet him after he ceased to speak, and he is speaking.

Abundio and the town itself figure forth the notion of Mexico as a nation cut off from the world. Rulfo is writing of the Third World looking at its own face. The theme of the novel—the exile cut off from his past, returning only to find he must dream his past if he is to have any history at all—is the most accurate description of mestizo Mexico seeking its identity.

Today, the editor of Mexico's largest publishing house can sit in an elegant restaurant and speak of his Indian grandmother who makes a delicious paste of roasted winged ants and chilies. When Rulfo published his novel in 1955, Mexicans still pretended to be French or Spanish; those who were successful almost invariably had light skin and wavy hair; the women still let the hair grow on their legs to prove they had Spanish blood. All of that has changed, and Rulfo's novel was no small part of the change. It was Indian Mexico, identity, that he sought. After writing his novel he took a job working with the government-run institute that helps Indian Mexico preserve its life and culture.

The extent of Rulfo's understanding of his country and its culture and the extraordinary expression of that understanding in *Pedro Páramo* can be recognized by anyone who has read Octavio Paz on Mexican culture and history. Every one of the brilliant revelations in Paz's analytical work *The Labyrinth of Solitude* can be found in *Pedro Páramo*. One may read, for example, of the connection between the fiesta and death as Paz understands it, but in *Pedro Páramo* a circus enters the town during a funeral and death mixes with a fantastic fiesta.

Before Rulfo's novel, Mexican literature had settled into a tradition of analysis. It was a Latin American tradition—the exile in his own country seeking his identity—that had been nurtured in Mexico as in no other part of Latin America. During the revolution of 1910, Vasconcelas, the Minister of Education, proposed that studies be limited to the Greek and Latin classics. For him there was nothing of value in indigenous Mexico. One could think about Mexico, analyze it and its problems, but the making of art out of the Mexican experience was inconceivable. The heritage of Juárez the Zapotecan Indian was lost on the intellectual makers of the revolution. It was left to Pancho Villa to be the first to shout, "Viva la raza!"

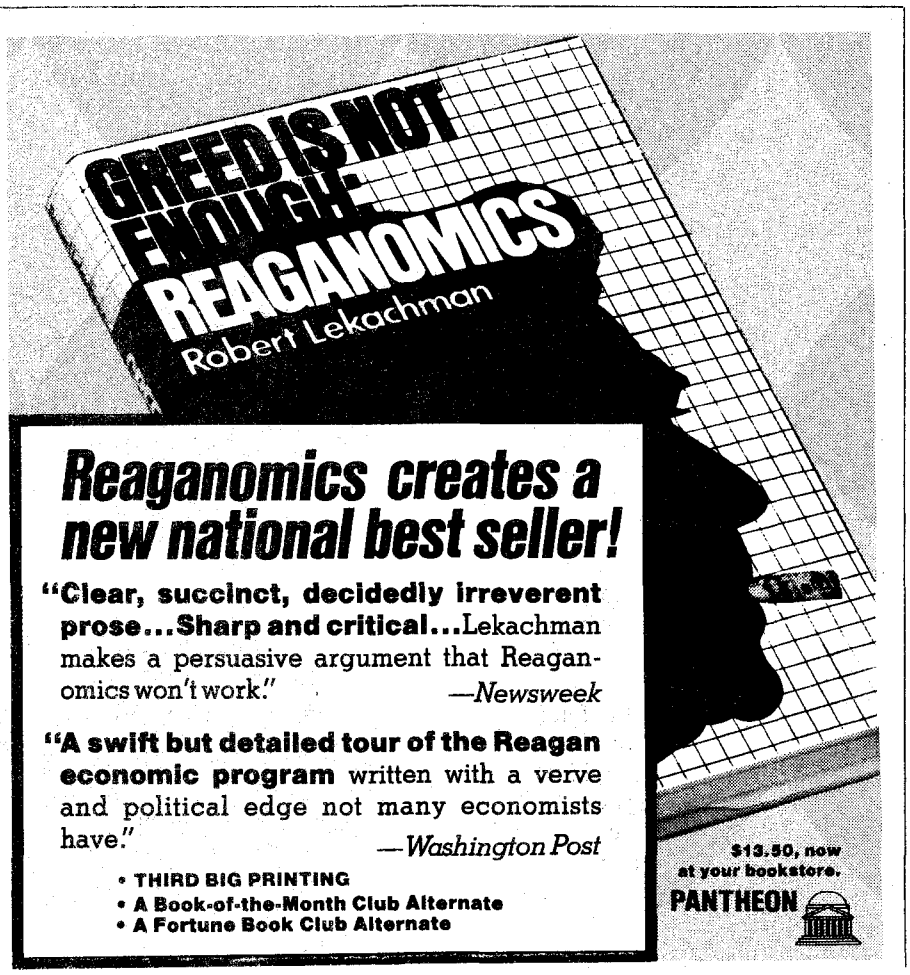
The publication of Rulfo's novel signaled the end of analysis and the beginning of art, the end of European domination and the beginning of a true mestizo culture. It burst upon the Latin American literary world as it must have burst out of Rulfo himself: a soul, a culture, a history, all that was written on a man in thirty-five years of life compressed into 123 pages, a true revolution.

Pedro Páramo emerges as the essence of the *caudillo*: a rake as a young man, who follows the rake's progress to *machismo*; the owner of the hacienda, who sends his men to join the revolution on whichever seems to be the winning side. Finally in his old age he comes to the end a *caudillo* must expect.

Everywhere in the novel, death is present: not the hidden, feared death we know in the United States but Mexican death, the death that is neither the beginning nor the end, the death that comes and goes in the round of time. One does not fear death in Mexico, neither does one truly worship it. A Mexican lives with death. It exists. It is here. It confuses the states of being, as if it were a dream. The dead dream of the living as the living dream of the dead. The Aztec poet asked, "Do we pass this way but once?" The question continues to be asked in Mexico.

Rulfo asks: If the dead are with us in memory, how is it that they do not exist? What is the difference between death and yesterday? Do we not incorporate the dead, as the Aztecs incorporated the hearts of princes in the guise of gods?

There was an accommodation of the ancient view of death by the Catholic Church when it came to Mexico. In the place where the Indians worshipped Tonantzin (Our Mother), the Virgin of Guadalupe appeared to Juan Diego. Quenamican became Heaven. One set of symbols replaced another. The confusion of gods still exists in many parts of Mexico. Death remains an uncertain


GREED IS NOT ENOUGH—
REAGANOMICS
Robert Lekachman
Reaganomics creates a new national best seller!
"Clear, succinct, decidedly irreverent prose...Sharp and critical...Lekachman makes a persuasive argument that Reaganomics won't work." —Newsweek
"A swift but detailed tour of the Reagan economic program written with a verve and political edge not many economists have." —Washington Post
• THIRD BIG PRINTING
• A Book-of-the-Month Club Alternate
• A Fortune Book Club Alternate
$13.50, now at your bookstore.
PANTHEON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part of life, but a part of life. Juan Preciado, the exile, comes back to Comala, to the place that gives sustenance, and like anyone long in exile he cannot bridge time except in dreams, he cannot know the dead unless the dead will speak to him. Dreams are no better than history; they are the alternative to the failures of history. The exile must recreate his past, he must make his own identity out of himself and the little he took with him into exile.

With *Pedro Páramo* Rulfo set a course for Latin American literature and perhaps for Latin America. Along with a slim book of stories, *The Burning Plain*, it is all that he said. Without right or reason, his readers demand more. They threaten to forget him, they forget him, they have forgotten him.

In Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, the words for blood and movement have the same root, and movement is the life force of the gods. Then, as now, the gods were insatiable. □

BOOK NOTES.

KILLING OUR OWN. *By Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon. Delacorte Press. 368 pp. $19.95. Paper $12.95.* From the Marine cleanup in Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the accident at Three Mile Island, *Killing Our Own* traces America's experiences with atomic radiation. It is a well-researched and convincing history which disproves the contention that our nuclear society poses no health hazards for the general public. As the authors reveal, a good many Americans have already suffered the horrific effects of exposure to radiation. That the public is not aware of these casualties can be attributed to the coverups and outright deceptions of the U.S. government and the military and nuclear establishments. Here is an alarming story that demands attention.

VOICES OF PROTEST: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression. *By Alan Brinkley. Alfred A. Knopf. 348 pp. $18.50.* As Brinkley notes, Huey Long and Charles Coughlin faded so quickly from public prominence that it is hard to imagine how powerful they once seemed. This work is a re-examination and, to a certain degree, a comparison of the careers of the two men, each of whom mobilized a tremendous following in the 1930s. Brinkley portrays them as demagogues sincerely concerned with rectifying economic injustice. At the same time, he argues persuasively that they were part of a vital trend in American history—"the urge to defend the autonomy of the individual and the independence of the community against encroachments from the modern industrial state." It is a trend well worth understanding, and Brinkley provides a fine analysis of it alongside his perceptive profiles of the two men.

David Corn

RUNNING TIME: Films of the Cold War. *By Nora Sayre. The Dial Press. 243 pp. $17.95.* More than just a breath of spring, this book exudes a freshness which makes it the most stylish discussion of film and culture since Parker Tyler. Readers who recall the portions of it that appeared in this magazine will find that in the book Sayre's comments are illuminated by numerous well-chosen stills—surely the happiest marriage of text and image in recent memory.

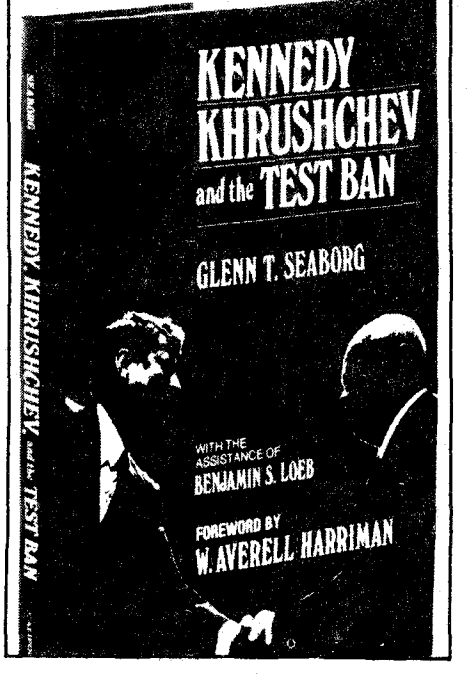
E. P.

HUNGER OF MEMORY: The Education of Richard Rodriguez. *By Richard Rodriguez. David R. Godine. 195 pp. $13.95.* The son of immigrant Mexicans, Richard Rodriguez owes his notoriety to his opposition to affirmative action and bilingual education. Ironically, while he refuses any professional advancement offered him in order to fulfill a minority quota, he does allow himself to be used as the token Hispanic who speaks out against the programs meant to benefit Hispanics and other minorities without questioning which might be the more honorable form of advancement.

The intention of this book is to relate Rodriguez's experiences as a child in a Spanish-speaking home to his controversial opinions; only such a rationale would explain this odd jumble of reminiscence and theory, this grab bag of confusions and contradictions. Rodriguez's writing is paradoxically most distant and abstract when he is describing himself and his family; conversely, subjectivity distorts, rather than informs, his most philosophical discussions. He recalls feelings of shame and humiliation with an unnatural impassivity: "I was not proud of my father and mother." This flat statement tells us two things: His alienation from his Mexican-American heritage resulted first from shame and, later, from personal ambition. And, it points to the book's major defect—that Rodriguez seems to have learned almost nothing from his experience. He might have provided us with an interesting perspective on marginality and ambition, but he refuses to examine the price of his success. There *is* pain in his statement, but he makes no effort to come to terms with it. He finds it more productive to maintain a distance from his past than to try and understand it.

Rodriguez does appreciate those things that education has allowed him to do: to reflect upon his life and articulate his feelings. Yet he seems incapable of analysis, as in this remark: "Somehow the inclination to write about my private life in public is related to my ability to do so." Does the fact that he is able to talk about his life guarantee that people will listen? Does it justify the book's existence? Given its shortcomings, it's unlikely that the manuscript would have found a publisher or an audience of polite, even timid critics if it hadn't been written by a Mexican-American who claims he's not really a Mexican-American. E. B.

"One of the most important books to come from a university press. . . . an incisive account of events leading up to the treaty and of the negotiations and their successful conclusion."—
Christian Science Monitor
$16.95, illustrated
University of California Press
Berkeley 94720


KENNEDY KHRUSHCHEV and the TEST BAN
GLENN T. SEABORG
WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BENJAMIN S. LOEB
FOREWORD BY W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Garde à Vue
One Night Stand

Duels film well. Out in the bright street the sheriff and the rustler approach each other, slow step by step. The camera flicks back and forth from one face to the other, watching for the twitch that reveals which man will first reach for his gun, which get off the fatal shot. Something of the sort occurs in two current movies that are far removed from Carson City.

In *Garde à Vue* (Under Suspicion), Maître Martinaud, attorney and *notaire* of a provincial town in Normandy, has dropped by police headquarters at the request of the chief inspector (Lino Ventura). A few days before, the lawyer (Michel Serrault) had discovered the body of a little girl in a secluded spot near the town playing field. And, by coincidence, when the body of another child was found, ravished and strangled, two weeks earlier, Martinaud's car had been illegally parked not far from the spot.

The two men meet at about 10:30 on New Year's Eve and are together almost without interruption, and with no one else present save the inspector's lieutenant (Guy Marchand), until early the next morning. It soon becomes evident that the *notaire* (a title of distinction for which we have no equivalent) is being asked, in the sinister British phrase, to "assist the police in their investigations." But this is not a case of Porfiry playing cat and mouse with the overwrought Raskolnikov. It is a game of lunge and parry between two well-matched fencers wielding unbated swords. Neither man comes through the night unscarred.

Ventura and Serrault are two of the screen's most substantial actors. Layer by layer, like a sculptor adding clay to an armature, they create human beings of substance from the roles assigned them. By noting inflections of voice and involuntary gestures, from fugitive mannerisms, studied aggressions and feints of withdrawal, one takes the measure of the contestants. Martinaud, one sees, is battling defensively, but perhaps to preserve his dignity, rather than his life. The inspector is fighting to break open a crime whose solution he foresees with dismay. He is enraged by the nature of the crime, and it goes against his sense of propriety to associate it with a pillar of society. He is angry with the *notaire* for being under suspicion. The nuances of the engagement are further defined by the reactions of Marchand in the "chorus" role of a stenographer impatient with the niceties of single combat.

The plot is not on a level with the acting. By the time Romy Schneider appears as Madame Martinaud, the closing scenes are disintegrating into melodramatic surprise. But by then the viewer has been treated to two hours of hypnotically absorbing give-and-take between virtuoso performers. The hand of director Claude Miller is hardly visible in the proceedings—a remark I intend as praise.

Toronto is a city distinguished for the high quality of its community newspapers and the vigor of its neighborhood theaters. Getting a play staged there seems a much less formidable enterprise than it does on or off Broadway. This does not mean that Toronto is turning out a stunning succession of dramatic triumphs, but it is a good place for fledgling playwrights to try their wings.

One such is Carol Bolt. Her *One Night Stand* opened there with great success in 1977; it has now been made into a film. Like *Garde à Vue*, this "comedy-thriller" is a two-character clash of personalities, with a few entire-

THE CART

One morning in summer
music flew up out of New
York Avenue
under the bay window

down there a small man called
a foreigner
one hand on the nose of a horse
no taller than he was

and a cart behind them with wooden
wheels tight to the curb
by the street car tracks
were facing upstream waiting

on the cart a rocking
tower as big as a kitchen
with a round pointed roof
hung over the edges

yellow trellises all around
red painted chairs inside
one behind another
circling with the music

the horse was small for the cart
the cart was small for the tower
the tower was small for the chairs
the chairs were small for us

the circle was large for the tower
the tower was large for the cart
the tower was large for the street
the street was large for us

but we sat in the music
and went round over nothing
as long as we could
and the street car came by

as we turned and it passed us
with faces at all the windows
looking out
knowing us

W.S. Merwin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly secondary figures on hand to provide relief or implement the plot. Unlike the other film, it is far from polished work, being in fact a piece of rough carpentry. The principals, despite the nifty quips sprinkled generously in their lines, comport themselves with an embarrassing awkwardness that I was inclined to call inept until it dawned on me that the author and the director, Allan King (*Warrendale*), intend us to be made uncomfortable by the comedy and thus at least subconsciously prepared for the horror that qualifies the picture as a thriller. I was reminded of Claude van Itallie's *America Hurrah*, a sociopolitical slapstick of ferocious good humor that startled me when it played here some years ago.

Daisy (Chapelle Jaffe) has been stood up on her birthday by her boyfriend and her roommate. Understandably vexed, she flings herself into a disco bar and there picks up Rafe (Brent Carver), a country-and-western composer and singer with curly hair, an engaging smile and a disconcerting way of taking people at their word. (If you threaten Rafe that you will call the cops, he at once dials the number and hands you the receiver.)

Daisy's idea is to carry Rafe off to her high-rise apartment, drag him into bed as quickly as possible and thus avenge herself on the faithless friends. He has no objection to the enterprise but deplores its impetuous superficiality. He would like to get a bit acquainted first. Boy and girl set to work on that project, and if *Garde à Vue* resembles a formal duel, *One Night Stand* is more a wrestling match. Both physically and metaphorically, Rafe grapples with Daisy's self-protective banalities. He keeps demanding to be told what she really thinks and wants, as opposed to what she assumes are suitable thoughts and desires. As for himself, he changes his history as readily as a leech changes shape, and his mood swings from hilarity to solemnity to mawkish confession. From time to time, he darts next door, where a battle-scarred couple is engaged in erotic high jinks that seem excessive for persons of their age. On one occasion, he returns wearing a Richard Nixon mask, an irrelevant but surprisingly sinister bit of stage business.

All in all, Daisy has a tiring night of country-and-western Zen therapy, but as dawn approaches she seems to be coming into focus. Then the roof falls in on her.

The Nation Reprint Mart

LATIN AMERICA: A Political Guide.
An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

A LETTER TO AMERICA.
The Nation January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

INTERVENTION.
Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

EL SALVADOR.
A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

EMPIRE AS A WAY OF LIFE.
William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life, with an empire and the implications of life without one, was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

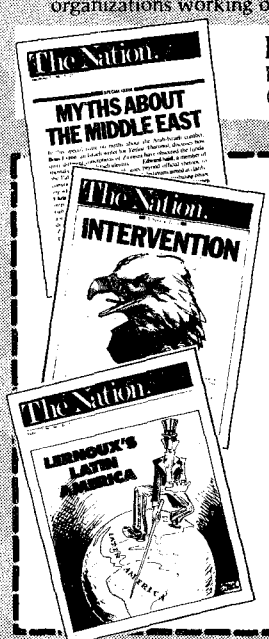
THE SELLING OF JAPAN.
A special issue of *The Nation* that challenges the current adulatory view of Japan Inc. in establishment circles and tells why American working people should not be traded in for the "Japan model."

MYTHS OF THE MIDDLE EAST.
This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

NUCLEAR SAMIZDAT.
What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

LABOR.
Political economists Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers report on recent labor history in this series of four 1979 articles reprinted from their column in *The Nation*, including a trenchant analysis of the defeat of the Labor Law Reform Bill and its impact on labor and material on the Business Roundtable.

DISARMAMENT: Covering the Unthinkable.
In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.



BACK ISSUES OF THE NATION.
Back issues are $3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)

THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS	Qty.	Name	Total
1 copy — $3.00 10 copies — $8.00 50 copies — $30.00 100 copies — $50.00 1,000 copies — $300.00			
BACK ISSUES $3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. *Offers expire September 30, 1982.* NR8219

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Events.

TODAY'S POLAND: LITERATURE AND CULTURE
A two-week multi-disciplinary workshop (May 30-June 11) designed to assist professors and teachers in developing comprehensive units concerned with Poland, enabling their students to understand current events. All participating faculty have worked in Poland. (3 graduate or undergraduate credits.) Inquiries to Prof. Paul A. Bates, Dept. of English, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523. (303) 491-5162 or (303) 491-6428. Registration by May 25th.

NEW YORK INSTITUTE FOR
SOCIAL THERAPY AND RESEARCH
Speaker Series Presents
JOURNALISM AND POLITICS
Speakers: Hamilton Fish, Publisher, The Nation; Conrado Hernandez, El Diario; Askia Muhammad, Pacifica Radio; Judy Simmons, WLIB Radio.
Moderator: Jacqueline Salit, Editor-in-Chief, New York Alliance
Friday, May 14, 1982, 8:15 p.m.
Teacher's College, Columbia University, 120th and Broadway, New York City. Admission $3.50 or $1.50, low income. For more information call The Institute at 212/663-5056.

NYC Self-Help Clearinghouse; Democratic Planning Proj., Hunter College Urban Affairs Dept.; Women Against Crime Fdn.; Metro. Research & Strategy Ctr.; Social Policy, and The Nation Institute invite you to a conference—
CRIME PREVENTION:
ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES
Opening Address: Rep. John Conyers, Chairperson, House Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice; Member Congressional Black Caucus.
Keynote: Hon. Elizabeth Holtzman, Kings County District Attorney.
Sat., May 22, 9 am-CUNY Graduate Center, 33 W. 42nd, NYC
Registration $3—For info.: Julie Conason, (212) 921-8328

Panel discussion on
JEWS IN POLAND TODAY
Sunday, May 23, 2 PM
Abraham Brumberg
Lucjan Dobroszycki
Jerzy Warman
Lawrence Wechsler
Moderator: Samuel Norich
Tickets: $3.50, students and senior citizens $2
Prices include Museum admission
For further information and reservations, call
(212) 860-1889, weekdays 9-5
The JEWISH MUSEUM
5th Avenue at 92 Street, NYC
under the auspices of
The Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Let Nation readers know about your event!
They want to know:
WHAT'S GOING ON
WHERE and
WHEN
We need your ad or copy by Tuesday, 11 days prior to cover date. We will accept phone-in copy. Call Debbie Kriger (212) 242-8400.
Rates: $30 per column inch. **Special offer, limited time only!** 3 ads for the price of 2.

I am unsure what moral, if any, *One Night Stand* intends to convey—perhaps, put not your trust in charming strangers for whom the word is father to the deed—but it is a bruising experience that I would not have missed. □

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

Three Acts of Recognition

Botho Strauss is a 38-year-old West German playwright who has received a good deal of attention in Europe, where he has taken a place among that startlingly gifted group of German-speaking dramatists that includes Peter Handke, Thomas Bernhard, Wolfgang Bauer, Martin Sperr and Franz Xaver Kroetz. *Big and Little*, Strauss's first play to be seen in America, was largely ignored; *Three Acts of Recognition*, which was first performed at the Julian Theatre in San Francisco in October 1980 and is now at the Public Theater in New York City, is likely to have much more impact.

Richard Foreman has directed the new production with a skill and inventiveness that seem to me exactly right for the complicated text, a very long affair with fifteen or sixteen speaking parts, none of them really minor. Foreman, whose own theater pieces have been among the most innovative American work of recent years, hasn't been nearly so successful when he's turned his hand to other people's plays (his eccentric *Threepenny Opera* is an example). But in this case his theatrical ideas and those of Strauss come perfectly into coherence.

The play takes place in an art gallery in an unnamed German city. It's Sunday afternoon, and members of an "art guild" have come for a cocktail party to preview a forthcoming exhibition. Everyone knows everyone else; "our little group," someone calls the gathering. They're a heterogeneous lot, one that includes a writer, several actors, a painter, a doctor and his wife, a druggist and his wife, a printer, a bratty 11-year-old boy, son of one of the members, and, perhaps most central in terms of time on the stage and involvement in the plot, a woman named Suzanne (Joan MacIntosh), of unknown occupation, and her rumored lover, Moritz (Richard Jordan), the director of the guild. (These two actors stand out in the generally gifted cast.)

I spoke of "plot," but that's misleading. If there's any story to the play, it's a tale of troubled consciousness, of poses, intellectual pretensions and emotional knots. The characters enact a sort of urban fable of strained sophistication that exposes its own shallowness and despair. It's all done in short takes, separated by "cuts," as in a film: the characters come together in pairs, trios or groups, which then dissolve and are replaced by other configurations. At the center of these shifting alignments Suzanne and Moritz hold sway, providing a focus for Strauss's partly mocking, partly sorrowful portraiture of sentimental, intellectual and political malaise.

The play runs nearly three and a half hours, so there are bound to be *longueures*, scenes that are flat or overextended. But for the most part the play is full of sharp observation, of witty or rueful encounters that reveal the coercions and pressures of an ingrown society in which everyone is struggling to be distinctive or, worse, to be *loved*. "The same dopey friends getting dopier all the time," a character says of the group. Someone gives a long, rambling, unintentionally hilarious description of a "novel about mass unemployment." Someone else says gravely that "only the nonsmoker can look truly overcome with despair." A couple agrees that "we're divorced before we're married." "The glib lines, the intellectual gymnastics," one character, as acrobatic as any other, protests.

Foreman has created an essentially verbal drama: very little happens beyond the physical movements of the guests through the gallery—a sandwich is dropped, wine is spilled, someone faints, paintings are brought out. Yet he choreographs everything with fine precision and accomplishes the "cuts" by using strange but entirely appropriate sounds and lighting schemes. He alternates scenes of nearly total abstraction with more naturalistic ones and arranges some truly impressive tableaux: the guests stand in a tight group at the back of the stage, holding their wine glasses and silently watching Suzanne as she laments her life; someone reads aloud from the show's catalogue while the others read to themselves, the black-covered catalogues making a somber design. All in all, *Three Acts of Recognition* is a superior piece of stage art. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

ART

IMAGES OF WORK, a limited edition photographic portfolio, 6-8"x10" silver prints in an edition of 30. Send for free brochure; IMAGES OF WORK, PO Box 985, Vallejo, CA 94590.

ASSOCIATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

BOOKS

MINIATURE BOOKS OF JAPAN. Tatsuo Go, Moritakabatake 621, Toyama City, 931, Japan.

"LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE" and **"JEAN'S WAY,"** unique books on self-deliverance for the dying. Available through Hemlock Society, PO Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066. Send SASE or call (213) 391-1871.

THE C.I.A. IN EL SALVADOR: Read Philip Agee's **Whitepaper? Whitewash!** Paper $8 (includes $1.50 shipping) or cloth $14.70 (includes $1.75 shipping) from Deep Cover Publication, PO Box 677N, New York, NY 10013.

BUILDING THE MOVEMENT IN THE 1980s. Read Manifesto for an American Revolutionary Party. Available in English or Spanish. National Organization for an American Revolution, Dept. D, PO BOX 07249, Detroit, MI 48207. Send $2 plus 50¢ postage.

DID YOU EVER WONDER what happened to medicines and pesticides after their use in the U.S. has been banned or restricted? You'll find out which products, who's selling them, and where, in PILLS, PESTICIDES & PROFITS now available for $10.95 at your local bookseller, or direct from North River Press, Box 241, Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520.

RICHARD KOSTELANETZ AT 40: Controversial, prolific, America's foremost avant-garde critic redefines "autobiography" in AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. 288 pp., $8 from Bandanna Books, 209 W. Dela Guerra, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

NEW CATALOGUE of used and rare books on Feminism, Suffrage, Abolition, Labor, Socialism, Rebellions, Utopias-Literature. Send stamp to Second Life Books, Brier Stage, Adams, MA 01220.

EDUCATION

CUBA/1982 Association of Caribbean Studies Conference. Write PO Box 248231 University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124 for information

GUIDES TO WISDOM

THOUGHT: Miracle Tool for Effective Living. $2 and SASE. Cuts labor, time and pain. Commonsense Books, 212N North Road, Chelmsford, MA 01824.

HEALTH

FINGERNAIL FUNGUS? Inexpensive natural cure. $10. HMC, Box 325N, Rocky Hill, NJ 08553.

HELP WANTED

ALTERNATIVE JOB & INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, foreign affairs, women's rights, media, health/education, community organizing, and more. Work you can believe in! Send $2 for latest nationwide listing. COMMUNITY JOBS, PO Box 505, 1520 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036.

SECRETARY: Typing and Dictaphone. Good benefits. National Lawyers Guild, (212) 260-1360.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

LITERARY SERVICES

BOOKS—Used and rare. FREE search service. Send wants to James Books, Box 521B, Brookline, MA 02147.

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

JOSEPH R. ROSENBERGER
The creator and the writer of the famed *Death Merchant* series, the *Murder Master* and the first *Kung Fu* fiction series in print wants book-length mss in action/adventure, horror/occult and Gothics. My commission is 10 percent.
Write for details. Enclose SASE for reply.
No ghosting or rewrites
3059 East Camino Mesa, AZ 85203

MERCHANDISE

OFFICIAL SPACE SHUTTLE products—patches, caps, etc. PO Box 5108, Titusville, FL 32780.

THE LEGENDARY UNICORN

comes to life in this unique art poster—capturing the ancient creature in a new, whimsical and amusing pose. This full color poster comes ready for framing. A great hang up!

Enclosed is my check for _____
for___ poster(s). Send $5.50 (2 for $10.00) to:
IL residents add 6% ● outside U.S.A. add $1.00
Our Solution ● P.O. Box 403
Lake Bluff, IL 60044
Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

DIETING? Stop craving food this easy, fun way! Free Information. Send SASE, NHLP, PO Box 52, Sun Valley, CA 91352.

HITCHHIKERS GUIDE. 50 states, North/Central America. $3.75. Definitive Productions, 1341 Ocean, 234D, Santa Monica, CA 90401.

AMI SATELLITE ANTENNA SYSTEMS, 50-80 channels, contact L. Emerick (503) 230-2828, 215 S.E. Morrison, Portland, OR 97214.

EINSTEIN SUPERSEDED! $1. Thomas, 408 Vt., Daytona, FL 32018.

CRITIQUE announces the publication of
The Middle East
A Special Issue
Articles include:
Covering Islam • Israeli Democracy?
Muslim Brotherhood • Zionism & Nazism
Arab Aid to the 3rd World • Among the Sufis
Fahd's 8-pt. peace program • Dissent in Libya
Palestinians in the West Bank • Israeli Dissent
The Holocaust: political propaganda for Zionism
Soviet Union & the Middle East
Book reviews, a bibliography and insightful analysis of current events in the Middle East.
Send $3.50 [postage included] to: **CRITIQUE, 2364 Valley West, Santa Rosa, CA 95401.**

Join the Nation Associates, a loyal and committed group of our readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $50 and up (annual membership includes a one-year subscription to *The Nation* and participation in a variety of Nation Associates activities).

For further information, please write, or call Claudine Bacher at (212) 242-8400

HELP! Sponsor a blue-eyed, blond girl's education who is 21 and behind in mental and speech development. With proper placement she will be A OK in 2 yrs. Tuition grant is needed from someone who is interested in tax write-off and has God's heart. Prayerfully, Celeste Dobek, (212) 779-1533 or write 35-24 72nd St., Jackson Heights, NY 11372.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

MISCELLANEOUS

EDITORIAL
COUNTERPOINT COMMUNICATIONS offers writing services to political, cultural, educational, and charitable organizations. Proposals, reports, speeches, brochures, letters. 24 Fifth Ave., Suite 1023, New York, NY 10011; (212) 477-2246.

PERSONALS

ORIENTAL CONTACTS. Cherry Blossoms, Honokaa, HI 96727.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE—The link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

COUPLES/SINGLES. Discreet introductions. Special rates for seniors & women. Plamates, PO Box 3355, York, PA 17402. (717) 848-1408.

VERY ATTRACTIVE, SLIM, independent woman, NYC, seeks perceptive, sophisticated, accomplished man, 47+. Pipe and slippers await. Reply Nation Box 345.

Faithful, Affectionate, Home-loving Oriental ladies looking for sincere and loving husband $10.00 will bring you over 300 sample photos and descriptions and all the information you need for joining our club. If you aren't overwhelmed by our ladies, if you decide not to join us right away, just return the photos and other materials, we'll refund your $10.00 no questions asked. Send your payment to: **Cherry Blossoms, Box 1021N , Honokaa, Hawaii 96727.**

NEW-AGE SINGLES meet and publish in Contact High. Free details (sample $2); PO Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

PUBLICATIONS

BEYOND MONOGAMY—open relationships newsletter with articles, readers' forum, tasteful personal ads. $9/yr., sample $1. PO Box 6877-NT, Denver, CO 80206.

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

GRASSY KNOLL GAZETTE—8 pgs., bi-monthly advice uncovering Coverup of who killed JFK, MLK, RFK, et al. $10/yr. Cutler Designs, PO Box 1465, Manchester, MA 01944.

PEACEMAKING AND THE COMMUNITY OF FAITH: A handbook for Congregations. New. Timely. Useful. $3 each, 10/$20, 50/$50. Covenant Peacemaking Program, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

WRITERS/ARTISTS: New Poetry Magazine needs your work. Send 4 stamps to Poetry, Box 2737, Myrtle Beach, S.C. 29577, Dept. TN.

"THE NEW RIGHT: FUNDAMENTALISTS & FINANCIERS" and "Issues & Analyses" are two Data Center Press Profiles identifying "who's who" on the Right, their chief funders and provides critical analysis of New Right politics and future strategy. $6.50 each. The Data Center, 464 19th St., Oakland, CA 94612. (415) 835-4692.

PUBLIC CONCERN

THE OSHA FILMS Reagan censored, Work/Labor Posters. Send for free brochure; Documerica Films, PO Box 985, Vallejo, CA 94590.

RARE NEWSPAPERS

RARE NEWSPAPERS 1644-1870. Genuine, historical reading. Large selection. Catalog $1. Hughes, 2410 North Hills Dr., Williamsport, PA 17701.

REAL ESTATE

WRITERS SPECIAL. 18th century large house, unspoiled village, NE Conn. 150 mi. NYC. Completely furnished. Fireplaces, stove. Books. Piano. Available for one year. $600/mo. plus utils. (203) 455-9183.

RECIPES

SQUASH BISCUITS: Century old recipe, $2 SASE, Perry & Gilmore, 155 Henry, DN-2, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! Positive proof Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Booklet, $3: Vector Associates, PO Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98007.

IS TONGUES-SPEAKING of God? FREE 80-page color book, others. Standard (B), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

TIRED OF SUBSIDIZING organized religion and their tax exemptions? Write for information to AMERICAN ATHEISTS, PO Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

SERVICES

NECK TIES NARROWED—Save your wide ties from fashion obsolescence! We'll narrow your ties to a stylish 3 inches (or your desired width). Send $12.50 for each set of 3 ties to: SLIM TIES CO., 44 Monterey Blvd., Dept. F, S.F., CA 94131

SERVICES WANTED

NONSMOKERS! Be paid to ridicule smoking. Free material for a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Smokers' Lib, PO Box 2846N, Los Angeles, CA 90028.

STUDY/TRAVEL

22 DAY CITIZENS' FACT-FINDING TOUR to Nicaragua and Cuba, 7/10-8/1. $1570 all expenses. Contact Marazul Tours, Inc., 250 W. 57th St., Suite 1312, New York, NY 10107. (212) 582-9570.

SUMMER RENTAL

SAG HARBOR, N.Y. Historic district. Quaint captain's cottage available August 7-28 $1200. Suitable family of four. Nation Box 85.

TRAVEL

COLORADO OUTWARD BOUND SCHOOL invites you to take a break with us. Free catalog on adult courses. 945 Pennsylvania, Dept. NA, Denver, CO 80203, 303-837-0880.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION.*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

_____

_____

_____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEE BAROQUE SPLENDOR, enjoy old-world enchantment on value-packed European tour, Aug. 31-Sept. 16. $1459 incl. flight on KLM. Most meals, tips, fees. Write M. LeMaire, 1040 Erie, Oak Park, IL 60302.

VACATION RENTALS

BEAUTIFUL HAWAII-Vacation apartments Free brochure Paradise, 50 S Beretania, C207, Honolulu HI 96813 (808)538-7145 Toll Free US to HI 1(800)367-52105

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1914

R	O	M	U	L	U	S	A	N	D	R	E	M	U	S
O		A		A		T		I		E		A		E
B	A	R	K	S		R	U	B	B	E	D	O	U	T
I		K		T		O		B		L		R		A
N	U	T	P	I	C	K		L	O	O	K	I	N	G
G		W		N		E		E		F				O
O	R	A	N	G	E	S		D	E	F	A	C	T	O
O		I										O		D
D	A	N	G	L	E	S		O	C	C	L	U	D	E
F				A		I		N		H		N		X
E	S	C	A	P	E	D		E	L	E	C	T	R	A
L		A		I		E		S		S		D		M
L	E	N	D	L	E	A	S	E		T	R	O	O	P
O		A		L		R		L		E		W		L
W	I	L	L	I	A	M	O	F	O	R	A	N	G	E

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

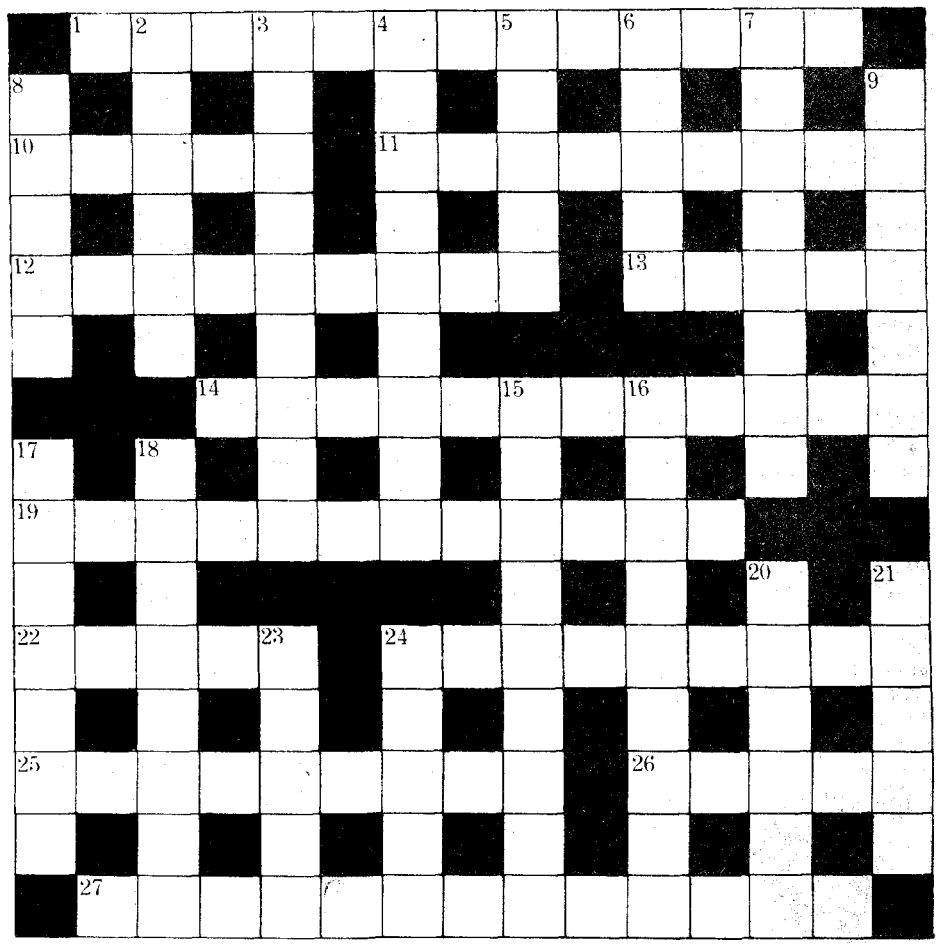
State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

Crossword Puzzle No. 1915

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The disharmonious sometimes work at them, but that's what bridges are for! (5,8)
10 Part of the big-looking house might be made of blocks. (5)
11 One of the main bodies? Yes, all owe its resettlement to such. (6,3)
12 Senseless emotionalism is a poor thesis—cry otherwise. (9)
13 Demand payment, to be strictly accurate. (5)
14 What one expects from a polite waiter? There's a lot in it, some say! (5,7)
19, 24 across and 8 down Machines, for example, collide, but not during the day, as some are afraid to hear. (6,4,2,4,2,3,5)
22 The sort of tiara that's made to be catching. (5)
24 See 19
25 One goes before, so bring her a sort of it! (9)
26 How you get down from a tree? (5)
27 A comeback with fancy speech, even though written on an envelope, perhaps. (6,7)

DOWN

2 Like a lot of what goes on hot dogs and such? (6)
3 Cleaning up with the theater crowd around the central point. (9)
4 After a purge, it's confused with Einstein, for example. (9)
5 Expensive car lists? They mean bread, man! (5)
6 The zero area? You might detect it after a thunderstorm. (5)
7 Transported with the beginnings of economy fixed. (8)
8 See 19 across
9 Little dishes take a light touch with the things that bind. (7)
15 With some difficulty mastered about a thousand, though couldn't come right out and say so. (9)
16 One who chooses something by Joplin, or just one whose living you might think of as a waste? (9)
17 Coy in the environment of the pen, but otherwise rather stiff. (7)
18 Said incorrectly to lead more than half of Greece, and you won't go along to do so. (8)
20 At least a pessimist has bones in the ear! (6)
21 Speak rather poorly of high points—by the sound of such, only hasty view is obtained. (5)
23 One may be going to bid this. (5)
24 Certainly not the way to finish off a foreign leader. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LOCAL ONE UNION AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS LABEL NEW YORK X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF YOU LIKE
WORLD
THE GOOD
BY
Nation

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $12.00, a savings of 60% off the newsstand price and 20% off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

D8219

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $12.00 for the first and $9.00 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

Add $3.50 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8219

SAVE AN
ADDITIONAL $3.00

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED